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Ægyptian and Grecian
H I S T O R Y
O F
HERODOTUS.

Translated from the Greek,
By *ISAAC LITTLEBURY, Gent.*

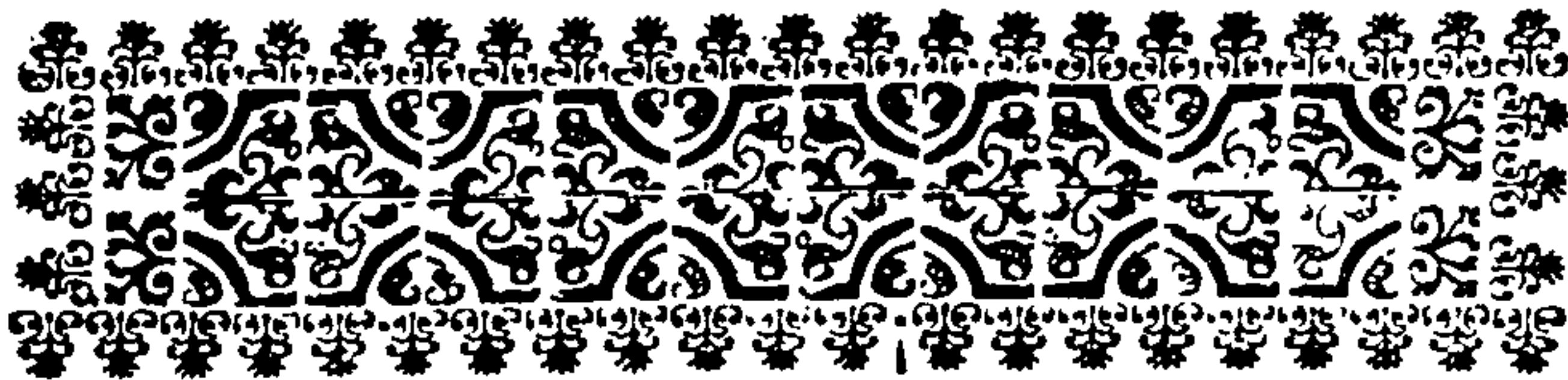
V O L. II.

The Third Edition.



L O N D O N;

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THE
History of *Herodotus*.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

HE Persians, left in *Europe* under the Orders of *Megabyzus*, subdued the Perinthians first of all the Hellespontines, for refusing to submit to *Darius*, tho they had before been considerably weaken'd by the Pæonians. For the Pæonians, who inhabit upon the River *Strymon*, had been admonish'd by an Oracle to invade the Perinthians; and if they should draw out their Forces, and with Clamours provoke the Pæonians by Name to fight, then to engage; otherwise not. The Pæonians did as they were instructed: And the Perinthians marching out, encamp'd before their City. Upon which a Challenge ensued, and three single Combats were fought: The first, of two Men; the second,

second, of two Horses; and the third, of two Dogs. The Perinthians already victorious in two of these Duels, were so full of Joy that they began to sing the Song of Triumph: When the Pæonians recollecting the Answer of the Oracle, said among themselves, “ The Prediction is now accomplish’d: Our Work is next: ” And immediately falling upon the Perinthians as they were singing, gave them so great a Blow, that few escap’d out of the Field. In this manner the Perinthians were defeated by the Pæonians: But against *Megabyzus* they behav’d themselves with the Valour that becomes Men fighting for Liberty; and were oppress’d only by the Numbers of the Persians. After the taking of *Perinthus*, *Megabyzus* advanc’d with his Army, and reduc’d all the Cities and Nations of *Thrace* to the Obedience of the King. For *Darius* had commanded him to subdue the Thracians. This Nation is the greatest of any among Men, except the Indians: And in my Opinion, if the Thracians were either under the Government of one Person, or unanimous in their Counsels, they would be invincible, and the strongest People of the World. But because this is extremely difficult, or rather impossible, they are of little Strength. They go under several Names, according to the Places they inhabit; but all observe the same Customs, except the *Getes*, the *Trauses*, and the *Crestoneans*, who are seated in the uppermost Parts. I have already spoken of the Customs of the *Getes* relating to Immortality. The *Trauses* differ in nothing from the rest of the Thracians, except in the Manners observ’d at the Times of their Nativity

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Nativity and Death. When a Child is born, his Relations sitting in a Circle about him, deplore his Condition, on account of the Evils he must suffer in the Course of Life; enumerating the various Calamities incident to Mankind. But when a Man is dead, they interr him with Exultation and Rejoicings, repeating the Miseries he has exchang'd for a compleat Felicity. Among the Crestoneans who inhabit the highest Part of *Thrace*, every Man has many Wives; and at his Death all these Women, strongly supported by their several Friends, contend fiercely, who shall be accounted to have been most dear to the Husband. In the end, she who is adjudg'd to have merited that Honour, having receiv'd great Commendations both from the Men and Women, is kill'd upon the Grave by the nearest of her Relations, and buried together with the Man: Which is a great Mortification to the rest, because accounted the utmost Disgrace. The rest of the Thracians sell their Children for Transportation: and take no care of their Daughters; but suffer them to entertain as many Men as they like. Nevertheless they keep their Wives under a strict Guard, and purchase them of their Relations at a great Rate. To be mark'd on the Forehead is honourable; and a Man without such Marks is accounted ignoble. Idleness is esteem'd decent; Husbandry unbecoming; and to subsist by War and Rapine is thought glorious. These are the most considerable Customs of this Nation. For their Gods, they worship only *Mars*, *Bacchus* and *Diana*. But their Kings, besides the national Deities, adore *Hermes* with great Religion;

swearing by his Name alone, and pretending to be descended from him. The Funerals of eminent Persons are celebrated in this manner. They expose the Corps to publick View during three Days; and after they have perform'd their Lamentations, they sacrifice all Kinds of Animals, and apply themselves to feasting. Then they either burn, or bury the Body in the Ground: And having thrown up a Mound of Earth over the Grave, celebrate all manner of Agonistical Exercises round the Place; appointing the greatest Prizes for those who fight single Combats. And such are their funeral Rites. Concerning the Northern Parts of this Region, no Man can certainly affirm by what People they are posseſſ'd. But those beyond the *Danube* are wild and impracticable; inhabited by no other Men, that I have heard of, but the Sigynes, who wear the Median Habit, and have Horses cover'd over with Hair, like Bristles, five Digits long; low of Stature, unable to carry a Rider, and having short Noses turning upward: Yet they draw a Chariot with Swiftness, and the Inhabitants use them to that end. Next adjoining to these, are the Henetes, who dwell in *Adria*, and say they are a Colony of the Medes. But by what means that Colony came thither, I cannot affirm; tho nothing be impossible to happen in length of Time. The Ligurians, who inhabit beyond *Marseilles*, call the Sigynes, Brokers; and the Cyprians give them the Name of Javelins. The Thracians say, that the Parts which lie beyond the *Danube* are full of Bees, and on that account impassable. But I think their Assertion carries no Appearance of Truth; because that Animal cannot

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cannot endure the Cold; and I am inclin'd to believe that the excessive Frosts of the Northern Climates, are the only Cause why those Countries are uninhabited. But I have said enough concerning these Parts: Of which *Megabyzus* reduc'd all the maritim Places to the Obedience of *Darius*.

NO sooner was *Darius* arriv'd at *Sardis*, after he had repass'd the *Hellespont*, than rememb'reing the good Offices of *Histiæus* the Milesian, and the Counsel of *Coes* of *Mitylene*, he sent for both those Persons, and gave them the Choice of their Recompence. *Histiæus* being already Tyrant of *Miletus*, demanded no other Dominion; and only desir'd the Edonian *Myrcinus*, in order to build a City there. But *Coes*, who was a private Man, and possess'd of no Government demanded the Dominion of *Mitylene*. They easily obtain'd all they desir'd, and then departed to take Possession. About the same time, by means of a certain Accident, *Darius* took a Resolution to command *Megabyzus* to transplant the *Pæonians* out of *Europe* into *Asia*. For *Pigres* and *Mastyes*, two *Pæonians*, being desirous to become Masters of *Pæonia*, came to *Sardis* after the Return of *Darius*, accompani'y'd by their Sister, who was a tall and beautiful Person: And observing *Darius* one Day sitting in the Suburbs of the *Lydians*, they dress'd their Sister in the best manner they could, and sent her down to the River; carrying a Pitcher on her Head, leading a Horse by a Bridle hanging upon her Arm, and at the same time spinning a Thred from her Distaff. *Darius* looking upon the Maid with Attention as she pass'd by; because her manner was altogether

gether different from the Customs, not only of the Persian and Lydian Women, but of any other in *Asia*, order'd some of his Guards to observe what she would do with the Horse. The Guards follow'd her, and found that when she came down to the River, she water'd the Horse, and having fill'd her Pitcher, return'd again by the same way ; carrying the Water on her Head, leading her Horse, and spinning, as she had done before. *Darius* no less surpriz'd with the Account they gave, than with what he himself had seen, commanded her to be brought into his Presence : Where she was no sooner introduc'd, than her Brothers, who had observ'd all that pass'd, appear'd likewise ; and when *Darius* ask'd who she was, the young Men made answer, that they were Pæonians, and that the Maid was their Sister. The King proceeding to enquire, what sort of Men the Pæonians were ; in what Part of the World they liv'd ; and upon what Motive they themselves came to *Sardis* ; receiv'd for Answer, that they came to put themselves under his Protection ; that *Pæonia* is situate upon the River *Strymon*, not far from the *Hellespont* ; and that the People are a Colony of Teucrians, from the City of *Troy*. When they had given Account of these Particulars, *Darius* farther demanded, if all the Women of that Country were as industrious as their Sister : And the Pæonians, who had contriv'd the whole Design to no other End, readily answer'd, they were. Upon which a Messenger was dispatch'd on Horseback, with Letters from the King to *Megabyzus*, General of his Forces in *Thrace* ; requiring him to compel the Pæonians to leave their Country, and pass into *Asia*.

Asia with their Wives and Children. The Courier perform'd his Journey with great Expedition ; pass'd the *Hellespont*, and deliver'd the Letters to *Megabyzus*: Who, after he had read the Contents, taking Guides in *Thrace*, led his Army towards *Pæonia*. When the Pæonians heard that the Persians were coming to invade them, they drew all their Forces towards the Sea, thinking the Persians would attempt to enter that Way ; and prepar'd to dispute their Passage. But *Megabyzus*, understanding that the whole Strength of *Pæonia* was in a readiness to receive him on that Side, took his Way, by the Direction of his Guides, towards the upper Part of the Country : And concealing his March from the Enemy, fell in upon their Cities empty of Men, and easily posseſſ'd himself of all. The Pæonians no sooner heard that their Cities were surpriz'd, than they dispers'd themselves ; and every Man returning home, the whole Country submitted to the Persians. And in this Manner all those Pæonians, who were known by the Names of *Seiropæonians* and *Pæoplians* together with the People of those Parts that descend towards the Lake of *Prasias*, were expell'd from their ancient Seats, and transported into *Asia*. But neither the Inhabitants of Mount *Pangæus* ; nor the *Doberes*, *Agrianes*, or *Odomantes* ; nor those next adjoining to the Lake, were at that time conquer'd by *Megabyzus*. Yet he attempted to subdue a People, who lived upon the Lake in Dwellings contriv'd after this Manner : They drive down long Piles in the Middle of the Lake, and cover them with Planks ; which being join'd by a narrow Bridge to the Land, is the only Way

that leads to their Habitations. These Piles were formerly put down at the common Charge ; but afterwards they made a Law, to oblige all Men, for every Wife they should marry, to fix three of them in the Lake, and to cut the Timber upon Mount *Orbelus*. On these Planks every Man has a Hut, with the Door opening thro the Floor, down to the Water. They tie a String about the Foot of their young Children, lest they should fall into the Lake ; and feed their Horses and other labouring Cattle with Fish ; which abound so much there, that when they let down an empty Basket by a Cord thro the Aperture of the Door, they draw it up again in a short time, fill'd with two Sorts of Fish, call'd *Papraces* and *Tilones*.

AFTER *Megabyzus* had taken the Cities of the Pæonians, he dispatch'd seven of the principal Persians in his Army to *Macedonia*, with Orders to require *Amyntas* to acknowledge King *Darius* by a Present of Earth and Water. *Macedonia* is not far distant from the Lake of *Praefas*. For, passing by a Mine, which is near that Lake, and afterwards yielded a Talent of Silver every Day to *Alexander*, Men ascend the Mountain *Dysonus* ; and on the other Side, at the Foot of the Hill, enter into the Territories of *Macedonia*. When the Persians were arriv'd, they went to *Amyntas*, and demanded Earth and Water in the Name of *Darius*. *Amyntas* not only gave them what they requir'd, but receiv'd them for his Guests ; and having prepar'd a magnificent Feast, entertain'd them with great Humanity. But as the Persians were beginning to drink after Supper,
" Macedonian Friend, said they, When we
" make

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“ make a great Feast in *Perſia*, our manner is,
“ to bring in our Concubines and young Wo-
“ men to the Company : And therefore, since
“ you have receiv’d us so affectionately ; treat-
“ ed us with ſuch Magnificence ; and own’d
“ King *Darius* by the Delivery of Earth and
“ Water ; we invite you to imitate our Custom.”

Amyntas anſwer’d, “ The Manner of our Coun-
“ try is quite different ; for we keep our Wo-
“ men ſeparated from Men : Nevertheless, be-
“ cause you are our Masters, and require
“ their Attendance, we will do as you desire.”

Having finish’d these Words, he ſent for the
Women ; who coming in as they were order’d,
plac’d themſelves on the other Side of the Ta-
ble opposite to the Perſians. But when they
ſaw the Women were very beautiful, the Perſians
told *Amyntas* that they were not plac’d
with Discretion ; and that he would have done
better not to ſend for them at all, than to let
them ſit at that Distance, only to offend their
Eyes. Upon this *Amyntas*, compell’d by ne-
cessity, order’d the Women to ſit down among
the Men : Which when they had done, the Perſians,
full of Wine, began to handle their
Breasts ; and ſome would have proceeded to
Kiffes. These Actions *Amyntas* ſaw with In-
dignation ; yet ſeemed unconcern’d, because
he was afraid of the Perſian Power. But his
Son *Alexander*, who was present, and observ’d
the ſame things, being a young Man and unac-
quainted with Adversity, was no longer able
to endure their Insolence ; and therefore ſaid to
Amyntas : “ Father, consider your Age ; and
“ leaving the Company, retire to your Rest.
“ I will ſtay here, and furnish these Strangers
“ with

“ with all things necessary.” *Amyntas* perceiving that *Alexander* had some rash Design to put in Execution ; “ Son, said he, I pretty well discern by thy Words, that thou art angry, and art resolv’d to attempt some imprudent Action in my Absence. I charge thee therefore to do nothing against these Men that may turn to our Disadvantage : But be contented to observe their Actions with Patience ; and for my own Part, I will comply, and retire.”

When *Amyntas* had given him this Counsel, and was gone out, *Alexander* spoke to the Persians in these Terms “ Friends, said he, these Women are at your command: You may lie with all, or as many of them as please you best ; and therefore I desire you to declare your Intentions with Freedom : For I see you are inclin’d to sleep, and abundantly replenish’d with Wine. Only permit them, if you think fit, to go out to bathe ; and in a little time you may expect their Return.”

The Persians applauded his Proposal, and *Alexander* sending away the Women, order’d them to their own Apartment : And having dress’d a like Number of smooth young Men in the Habit of Women, he furnish’d every one with a Poniard, and introducing them to the Persians, said : “ We have treated you with all manner of Variety : We have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure : And, which is more than all the rest, we have not denied you our Matrons and Daughters to compleat your Entertainment : that you may be abundantly persuaded, we have paid you all the Honours you deserve ; and at your Return may acquaint the King ” who

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“ who sent you, that a Grecian Prince of
“ *Macedonia*, gave you a good Reception both
“ at Table and Bed.” Having thus spoken,
Alexander plac’d at the Seat of every Persian,
a young Macedonian in the Disguise of a Wo-
man ; who, when the Persians attempted to
caress them, immediately dispatch’d all the
Seven. This was the Fate of these Persians,
and of their Attendants ; who, together with
the Chariots and all the Baggage, presently
disappear’d. After some time, great Search
was made by the Persians for these Men : But
Alexander eluded their Inquiry, by giving a
considerable Sum of Money, and his Sister *Gygea*
to *Bubares* a Persian, one of those who were
sent to enquire after the Generals he had kill’d :
And by his Management the manner of their
Death was conceal’d. This Family is of Gre-
cian Extraction, and descended from *Perdiccas* ;
as not only they themselves affirm, but as I
likewise have been inform’d, and shall relate
hereafter. Nay, the Grecian Judges presiding
in the Olympian Exercises, have determin’d the
Question ; for when *Alexander* came thither
with a Design to enter the Lists, and the An-
tagonists had refus’d to admit him ; alledging,
that those Exercises were instituted for Gre-
cians, and not for Barbarians ; he openly prov’d
himself an Argian ; and on that account being
received as a Grecian, he ran the Length of
a Stade ; and was the second at the end of the
Race. In this Manner were these things trans-
acted.

ME GABYZUS with the Pæonian Captives,
being advanc’d to the *Hellespont*, imbark’d ; and
passing over into *Asia*, arriv’d at *Sardis*. In the
mean
t

mean time *Histiæus* the Milesian was employ'd in building a City on the River *Strymon* in the Territory of *Myrcinus*, which *Darius* had given him upon his Request, for the Reward of his Care in preserving the Bridge. But *Megabyzus*, having heard of his Enterprize, no sooner arriv'd in *Sardis*, than he spoke to *Darius* in these Terms. “ O King, said he, what have you done, in permitting a bold and subtle Grecian to found a City in *Thrace*? A Country abounding in Timber for the building of Ships; in Numbers of Men fit for the Oar; and in Mines of Silver; surrounded by Multitudes both of Grecians and Barbarians; who, if they once find a Leader, will do as he shall direct, in all things and at all times. Put a stop therefore to the Proceedings of this Man, that you may not be embarrass'd with an intestine War. To that End, send for him by a gentle Message; and when he is in your Power, take care he may never return to *Greece*.” By these Words of *Megabyzus*, *Darius* was easily persuaded that he had a clear Foresight of things; and sending for a Messenger, dispatch'd him to *Myrcinus* with this Message. “ *Histiæus*, King *Darius* says thus. In all the Compass of my Thoughts, I have never found a Man more affectionate to my Person and the Good of my Affairs, than thyself; of which Truth I have had ample Experience, not by Words, but Actions: And on that account having great Designs to put in execution, I require thee to come to me with all Speed, that I may consult with thee concerning them.”

Histiæus

Histiæus giving Credit to these Words, and highly valuing the Honour of being a Counsellor to the King, went to *Sardis*: Where, upon his Arrival, *Darius* said to him; “*Histiæus*, “ I have sent for thee on this Occasion. Ever “ since my Return from *Scythia*, and thy De- “ parture from my Sight, I have had no greater “ Desire, than to see and converse with thee “ again; persuaded that a wise and affectionate “ Friend is the most valuable of all Possessions: “ and that both these Qualifications concurr “ in thy Person, my own Affairs have given “ me sufficient Proof. Now, because thy Ar- “ rival is so acceptable to me, I will make thee “ an Offer. Think no more of *Miletus*, nor “ of the City thou art building in *Thrace*; “ but follow me to *Susa*, and take Part of all I “ possess. Be my Companion and Counsellor.”

After this, *Darius* departed for *Susa*, accom-
panied by *Histiæus*; having first appointed *Ar-
taphernes*, his Brother by the Father, to be Go-
vernor of *Sardis*. The Command of the mari-
tim Parts he left to *Otanes*, whose Father *Sisam-
nes* had been one of the Royal Judges; and
was put to death by *Cambyses* for receiving a
Sum of Money to pronounce an unjust Sen-
tence. By the King’s Order his Body was
flead, and his whole Skin being cut into Thongs,
was extended on the Bench where he us’d to
sit. And when this was done, *Cambyses* plac’d
the Son of *Sisamnes* in the Office of his Father,
admonishing him to remember on what Tri-
bunal he sat to administer Justice. This *Ota-
nes*, who had perform’d the Office of a Judge
on that Seat, now succeeding *Megabyzus* in the
Command of the Army, subdued the Byzan-
tians

tians, and Chalcedonians ; with the Cities of *Antandrus* and *Lamponium* in *Troas*. He also possess'd himself of *Lemnos* and *Imbrus*, by the Assistance of the Lesbian Fleet ; both which Places where then inhabited by the Pelasgians. But the Lemnians having fought valiantly, and defended themselves to Extremity, suffer'd much ; and those who surviv'd, were compell'd by the Persians to obey *Lycaretus*, the Brother of *Meandrius* King of *Samos*. This *Lycaretus* en-slav'd the People, and exercis'd all manner of Violence ; charging some, that they had deserted the Army of *Darius* in the Scythian Expedition ; and others, that they had harrass'd his Forces in their Return. Yet he escap'd not long with Impunity, and was kill'd for these Actions in *Lemnos*.

BUT farther Calamities impending over the Ionians, began in *Naxus* and *Miletus*. The first of these was at that time the most flourishing of all the Islands : And *Miletus* was then in a State of greater Prosperity than ever, and accounted the Ornament of *Ionia* ; tho that City had before been afflicted with domestick Disorders during two Generations, till their Differences were compos'd by the *Parians* ; who, among all the Grecians, had been chosen by the Milesians to that Purpose, and amended the Government in this manner. Some of their most eminent Men arriving in *Miletus*, and seeing nothing but Desolation, told the Milesians, they had resolv'd to survey their whole Country. Which as they were doing, wheresoever they saw in that depopulated Region, any Portion of Land well cultivated, they wrote down the Name of the Possessor.

After

After they had view'd all the Milesian Territories, and found very few such Possessions; returning to the City, they called an Assembly, and declar'd that the Government should be put into the Hands of those Persons, whose Lands they had found in good Condition: Not doubting that they would administer the publick Affairs, with the same Care they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoin'd all the rest of the Milesians, who before had been split into Factions, to obey these Magistrates; and in this manner reform'd the State of *Miletus*. From these two Places the ensuing Evils were deriv'd upon the Ionians. For some rich Men of *Naxus* being banish'd by the People, fled to *Miletus*; the Administration of which Place was then in the Hands of *Aristagoras* the Son of *Molpagoras*, Nephew and Son in Law to *Histiæus* the Son of *Lysagoras*, who was detain'd by *Darius* at *Susa*. For *Histiæus* was Tyrant of *Miletus*; and during his Detention in *Asia*, the Naxians arriv'd; and in Confidence of the Engagements they and *Histiæus* were under to a reciprocal Hospitality, desir'd some Assistance of *Aristagoras*, in order to restore them to their Country. *Aristagoras* thinking to get the Dominion of *Naxus*, if these Men were once restor'd by his Power; took Occasion from their former Hospitality to make them an Offer, in these Terms. " For my own Part, I am
" not able to furnish you with a Force suffi-
" ent to re-establish you in *Naxus* against the
" Inclinations of those who are in Possession;
" because I hear they have eight thousand
" Men arm'd with Shields, and a consid-
" erable Number of great Ships. Yet I will
" contrive

" contrive some Way ; and use my best Endeavours to assist you on this Occasion. *Artaphernes*, the Son of *Hystaspes* and Brother of *Darius*, is my Friend. He commands all the maritim Parts of *Asia*, and has a numerous Army, with many great Ships. This Man, I am persuaded, will do whatever we shall ask." The Naxians hearing his Proposal, desir'd *Aristagoras* to bring about this Affair in the best manner he could ; authorizing him to promise such Presents as he should think necessary, and to engage for the Expence of the Army ; all which, they said, they would repay ; having great Expectation that their Countrymen upon their Appearance would do whatever they should order ; and that the rest of the Islanders would follow their Example. For at that time none of the *Cyclades* were under the Dominion of *Darius*. Accordingly *Aristagoras* went to *Sardis*, and acquainted *Artaphernes*, that *Naxus* was a beautiful and fertil Island, tho not large, in the Neighbourhood of *Ionia*, and abounding in Wealth and Servants. " For these Reasons, said he, I counsel you to make War upon that Country, and re-establish those Persons who have been banish'd from thence : Which if you do, you shall not only receive a great Sum of Money, already lodg'd in my Hands, together with Provisions for the Army (for that is no more than just, since the Expedition is made on our account) ; but besides the Acquisition of *Naxus*, you will put the King into Possession of *Paros*, *Andros*, and the rest of the dependant Islands that go under the Name of the *Cyclades*. To these, in the next place

“ place, you may without Difficulty add the
 “ Conquest of *Eulæa*, a great and wealthy
 “ Island, equal in Extent to *Cyprus*, and very
 “ easy to be taken. A hundred Ships will be
 “ sufficient to employ in this Expedition.”
 “ Truly, said *Artaphernes*, you have propos’d
 “ an Enterprize of great Advantage to the
 “ King, and prudently advis’d in every thing,
 “ except the Number of Ships. For instead
 “ of one hundred, which you demand, two
 “ hundred shall be ready in the ensuing Spring.
 “ But the King’s Consent must first be obtain’d.”

With this Answer *Aristagoras* return’d very well satisfied to *Miletus*.

IN the mean time *Artaphernes* sent to *Susa*, to acquaint *Darius* with the Enterprize propos’d by *Aristagoras*; and after he had obtain’d his Approbation, made ready two hundred Ships, and assembled a great Army of Persians and their Confederates; appointing for General of those Forces, *Megabates* a Persian, who was of the Achemenian Blood, Nephew to himself and *Darius*, and afterwards married his Daughter to *Pausanias* the Son of *Cleombrotus* a Lacedemonian, who aspir’d to the Dominion of *Greece*. When *Artaphernes* had declar’d *Megabates* General, he sent him with the Army to *Aristagoras*; and *Megabates* accompanied by *Aristagoras*, with the Ionian Forces, and the Naxians, departed from *Miletus*, and made a Feint of sailing to the *Hellespont*. But when he arriv’d near *Chio*, he anchor’d over against Mount *Caucasus*, in order to make the Coast of *Naxus* by the Favour of a North Wind. But because the Naxians were not to perish by this Army, the following Accident happen’d: *Megabates*

gabates, visiting the Watches of the Fleet, and finding a Ship of *Myndus* without any Guard, fell into a great Rage, and commanded his Officers to seize the Captain, whose Name was *Scylax*, and after they had bound him, to put his Head thro one of the Portholes that were pierc'd for the Oars ; so that his Head appear'd on the Outside of the Vessel, while the rest of his Body remain'd within. *Aristagoras* being inform'd in what manner his Friend *Scylax* of *Myndus* was bound and disgrac'd by *Megabates*, went to the Persian ; interceded for him ; and when he found he could obtain nothing, set him at liberty with his own Hands. *Megabates* hearing of this Action, and thinking himself highly affronted, reprimanded him sharply : But *Aristagoras* in answver, said, "What have you to do with these things ?" "Has not *Artaphernes* sent you to obey me ;" "and sail to what Part soever I shall command ?" "Why then should you undertake more ?" This Answer was so provoking to *Megabates*, that he dispatch'd certain Persons to *Naxiis*, with order to inform the Naxians of the impending Danger. Upon which they, who to that Hour thought of nothing less than of being invaded by those Forces, brought their Wealth with all Diligence into the City, laid up Provisions of Meat and Drink to sustain a Siege, and repair'd their Walls. When they had prepar'd all things, as Men expecting to be attack'd ; the Persians arriving in their Ships, found the Naxians perfectly well provided, and besieg'd them in vain during four Months : So that having consum'd what they brought, together with great Sums furnish'd by

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by *Aristagoras*; and wanting still more to carry on the Siege, they built a Place for the Reception of the Naxian Fugitives, and retir'd to the Continent, after they had suffer'd much in the Expedition. *Aristagoras* finding no Way to perform the Promises he had made to *Artaphernes*, and yet remaining charg'd with the Payment of the Army, which was demanded in a peremptory manner; apprehended that upon this ill Success, and the Accusations of *Megabates*, he might be depriv'd of the Dominion of *Miletus*; and on that account began to think of revolting from the King: To which he was solicited by a Message of *Histiæus*, sent to him from *Susa*. For *Histiæus* being desirous to signify his Intentions to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other Way, because all the Passages were guarded, shav'd the Head of one of his Servants, in whose Fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the Message on his Crown, kept him at *Susa* till his Hair was grown again. When that time was come, he dispatch'd him to *Miletus*, without any other Instructions, than that, upon his Arrival, he should desire *Aristagoras* to take off his Hair, and look upon his Head: On which, as I said before, Characters were impress'd, soliciting him to a Defection. *Histiæus* took this Resolution; because he look'd upon his Residence at *Susa* as a great Misfortune, and entertain'd no small Hope of repassing the Sea, if *Miletus* should revolt: But if nothing new could be attempted there, he concluded he should never return home. And such were the Considerations that prevail'd with *Histiæus* to dispatch this Messenger to *Miletus*.

ALL these things concurring at the same time, induc'd *Aristagoras* to consult with those of his Faction, and communicate to them his own Opinion and that of *Histiæus*. They all applauded his Sentiment, and encourag'd him to revolt, except *Hecataeus* the Historian; who at first dissuaded him from undertaking a War against the Persian King; enumerating the Forces of *Darius*, and all the Nations he commanded: But finding he could not prevail, he in the next Place advis'd that Care should be taken to render the Milesians Masters of the Sea; and said, that being fully convinc'd of the Insufficiency of their Forces, he could see no more than one Way to effect this. Yet if they would seize the Treasures, which had been dedicated by *Cræsus* the Lydian, in the Temple of *Branchis*, he had great Hope they might acquire the Dominion of the Sea; and not only convert those Riches to their own Use, but hinder the Enemy from plundering that Treasure: which indeed was very considerable, as I have already related. However they would not follow his Advice: But at the same time having taken a Resolution to revolt, they agreed to send one of the Assembly in a Ship to *Myus* (where the Enemies Forces that came from *Naxus* then were) with Instructions to endeavour to get into his Hands as many of their Sea-Commanders as he could. *Aristagoras* being charg'd with this Commission, circumvented and seiz'd *Oliatus* of *Mylasa*, the Son of *Ibanolis*; *Histiæus* the Son of *Tymnes*, of *Termeva*; *Coes* the Son of *Erxandrus*, to whom *Darius* had given *Mitylene*; *Aristagoras* of *Cyme*, the Son of *Heruclides*, and many others; Thus

Aristagoras

Aristagoras openly revolted against *Darius*, and studied to annoy him by all the means he could invent. In the first place he abolish'd the *Tyranny*, and establish'd a *Commonwealth* in *Miletus*; to the end that the *Milesians* might more readily join with him in his *Defection*. He effected the same afterwards throughout all *Ionia*; expelling some of their *Tyrants* by *Force*; and delivering up all those who were taken from on board the *Ships* that had been at *Naxus*, into the *Hands* of the *Cities* to which they belong'd; in order to gratify the *People*. The *Mityleneans* had no sooner receiv'd *Coes*, than they brought him out, and ston'd him to death: The *Cymeans* banish'd their *Tyrant*: Many others fled, and the *Tyrannies* were every where suppress'd. In Conclusion, *Aristagoras* the *Milesian* having remov'd the *Tyrants*: and admonish'd each of the *Cities* to appoint a *General*, went on an *Embassy* to *Sparta*, because some powerful *Assistance* was now become necessary.

ANAXANDRIDE'S King of *Sparta* was already dead, and his Son *Cleomenes* had at that time *Possession* of the *Kingdom*; not on account of his *Virtues*, but his *Blood*. *Anaxandrides* had married his Sister's Daughter, and tho she brought him no *Children*, yet he lov'd her with great *Affection*: Which the *Ephori* considering, they sent for him, and said; " If you
" neglect your nearest *Concernments*, we are
" not to imitate your *Example*, and suffer the
" Family of *Eurystheus* to be extinguish'd.
" Since therefore you have a *Wife* which bears
" no *Children*, leave her, and marry another;
" and so provide for the *Security* of *Sparta*.

He answer'd, that he would not do either the one or the other: that, to advise him to abandon the Wife he had, and to take another in her place, without any Provocation, was unjust; and therefore he would not obey. Upon this, the *Ephori* and the Senate, after they had consulted, sent a Message to *Anaxandrides* in these Terms; “ Because we see you are so fond of your Wife, be persuaded to do as we now propose, without Reluctancy; that the Spartans may not proceed to a more severe Resolution against you. We require you not to part with your Wife: Continue to live with her, as you have done to this time; but at least marry another Woman, who is not barren.” To this Proposal *Anaxandrides* consenting, married another Wife, and kept two distinct Families, contrary to the Customs of the Spartans. After some time, his second Wife was brought to bed of this *Cleomenes*, and became the Mother of one who was to succeed in the Kingdom. And now his first Wife, who to that time had been barren, found herself with Child: and tho the thing was really so, yet the Relations of his second began to murmur, and said, she only pretended to the Pride of a great Belly, in order to impose a supposititious Child upon the World. While these continu'd their Clamour, and the time of her Delivery drew near, the *Ephori* suspecting a Fraud, order'd the Woman to be kept under a strict Guard. Nevertheless she had not only *Dorieus*, but after him *Leonidas*, and at a third time *Cleombrotus*; tho some say that *Cleombrotus* and *Leonidas* were Twins. But the Mother

ther of *Cleomenes*, who was the second Wife of *Anaxandrides*, and Daughter to *Perinetales*, the Son of *Demarmenes*, never bore any more Children. *Cleomenes* is reported to have been delirious, and much disorder'd in his Mind: so that *Dorieus*, who surpass'd all the young Men of his Age, conceiv'd great hope of obtaining the Kingdom, on account of his Merit. But after the Death of *Anaxandrides*, when he found that the Lacedemonians had, according to Custom, created his eldest Brother King; full of Discontent and Indignation to be command'd by *Cleomenes*, he demanded a Draught of Men, in order to establish a Colony; and went away without asking the Oracle of *Delphi* to what place he should go, or doing any of those things that are usual on such Occasions; so deeply was he affected with the Indignity. He sail'd to *Libya* under the Conduct of Theban Pilots, and arriving at *Cinype*, settled upon a River, in the most beautiful Part of that Country. But in the third Year of his Establishment, being ejected by the united Force of the Maces, Libyans and Carthaginians, he return'd to *Peloponnesus*: where *Antichares* of *Elionis*, pursuant to the Oracle of *Laius*, admonish'd him to build the City of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*; assuring him that all the Country of *Eryx*, having been conquer'd by *Hercules*, belong'd to his Posterity. When he heard this, he went to inquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, whether he should possess himself of the Region to which he was sent. The Pythian answer'd, he should; and *Dorieus* taking with him the same Army he had in *Libya*, set sail for *Italy*. At that time, as the Sybarites say, they and

their King *Telys* were preparing to make War against *Crotona*: Which the Crotonians apprehending, implor'd the Assistance of *Doriens*; and having obtain'd their Request, march'd in Conjunction with his Forces directly to *Sybaris*, and took the City. This the Sybarites affirm concerning *Doriens* and those who were with him. But the Crotonians deny that any Foreigner took part with them in the War against *Sybaris*, except only *Callias* of *Elis*, an Augur of Iamidean Descent, who abandon'd *Telys* King of the Sybarites and deserted to their Side, because he found the Sacrifices inauspicious which he offer'd for the Success of the Crotonian Expedition. These things they say: and each Side to confirm their Assertion, bring the following Testimonies. The Sybarites on their Part shew a Grove, with a Temple, built at *Chraſtus*, and dedicated, as they say, to *Minerva*, under the Name of *Chraſtian*, by *Doriens*, after he had taken *Sybaris*: alledging, for a farther and greater Proof, that he was kill'd there, because he had acted contrary to the Admonition of the Oracle. For if he had attempted nothing more than the Enterprize he was sent about, he might have taken and possess'd the Country of *Eryx*, and escap'd that Destruction which fell upon himself and his Army. On the other hand the Crotonians shew many considerable Donations, conferr'd upon *Callias* the Elean, in the Territories of *Crotona*; and now possess'd by his Descendants; but nothing at all given to *Doriens* and his Posterity: Whereas doubtless, had he assisted them in the War of *Sybaris*, he should have been more amply rewarded than

Callias.

Callias. These are the Testimonies produc'd on both sides; and every Man has the Liberty of adhering to that which he judges more probable. *Doriens* had for Associates in the Conduct of his Colony, *Thessalus*, *Parebates*, *Cheles*, and *Euryleon*, all Spartans; who, after their Arrival with the Army in *Sicily*, were kill'd with him in an unsuccessful Battle against the Phœnicians and Ægestans: *Euryleon* alone surviv'd this Disaster, and having collected the shatter'd Remains of their Forces, possess'd himself of *Minoa*, a Colony of the Selinusians, and deliver'd the Minoans from their Monarch *Pythagoras*. But after he had remov'd him, he seiz'd the Tyranny of *Selinus* for himself. Yet he continued not long in Possession: For the Selinusians revolting, kill'd him at the Altar of the Forensian *Jupiter*, where he had taken Sanctuary. *Philippus* of *Crotona*, the Son of *Butacides*, accompanied *Doriens* in the Time of his Life, and at his Death. He had enter'd into a Contract of Marriage with the Daughter of *Telys* the Sybarite: But being banish'd from *Crotona*, and disappointed of his Wife, he sail'd to *Cyrene*; from whence he parted to accompany *Doriens*, with his Ship and Men maintain'd at his own Expence. He had been victorious in the Olympian Exercises; and because he was the most beautiful of all the Grecians at that time, so great Honours were conferr'd upon him, by the Ægestans, after his Death, as they had never paid to any other Person: For they erected the Monument of a Hero upon his Sepulcher, and adore him with Sacrifices. Such was the End of *Doriens*; who, if he could have endur'd the Government of *Cleomenes*,

Cleomenes, and continued in *Sparta*, had doubtless been King of the Lacedemonians. For after a short Reign *Cleomenes* died, and left no other Children than one Daughter, whose Name was *Gorgo*.

DURING the Reign of this *Cleomenes*, *Aristagoras* Tyrant of *Miletus* arriv'd in *Sparta*; and going to confer with the King, carried with him, as the Lacedemonians say, a Plate of Brass, on which a Description of the whole Earth, with all the Seas and Rivers, was engrav'd: And being come into the King's Presence, spoke in these Terms. “ Wonder not, “ *Cleomenes*, at the Pains I have taken to come hither; the Cause is important: For, to see the Posterity of the Ionians, depriv'd of Liberty, and reduc'd to the Condition of Servants, will be extremely grievous and shameful, not only to us, but, in the next place, to you; because you are the Leaders of *Greece*. I adjure you therefore by the Grecian Gods, rescue the Ionians, and deliver your own Blood from Servitude. The Enterprize will not be difficult to you, who have attain'd to the utmost Height of Military Glory. For the Barbarians are not valiant, and their Manner in War is thus: They use a slight Bow, with short Arrows, and engage in Battle, dress'd in a long Vest, and wearing a Turban on the Head: By which means they become an easy Conquest. Besides, those who inhabit that Part of the Continent, possess greater Riches in Gold, Silver, Brass, magnificent Apparel, Horses, and Slaves, than all the rest in conjunction. All these things you

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“ you may enjoy if you will, the Countries
“ lying contiguous, as I shall shew you.” Then
pointing to the Description of the Earth, which
he brought with him, engrav’d on a Plate :
“ Next to these Ionians, said he, the Lydians
“ inhabit a fertil Country, abounding in Sil-
“ ver: And on the Confines of *Lydia*, these
“ Phrygians are plac’d to the Eastward, more
“ rich in Cattle, and living in greater Af-
“ fluence than any other People I know. Ad-
“ joining to these are the Cappadocians, by
“ us call’d Syrians; and beyond them, the
“ Cilicians; whose Country extends to that
“ Sea in which the Island of *Cyprus* is situ-
“ ate, and pays an annual Tribute of five
“ Hundred Talents to the King. Next to
“ the Cilicians, are these Armenians, who
“ possess great Numbers of Cattle; and after
“ them the Matetiians; beyond whose Terri-
“ tories lies this Province of *Cissia*, in which *Su-*
“ *fa* is built upon the River *Choaspes*. In this
“ Place the great King resides, and his vast
“ Treasures are here deposited. If you take this
“ City, you may boldly contend with *Jupiter* in
“ Wealth. You will not find your Account in
“ fighting Battles, to gain a Country of small
“ Extent, narrow Limits, and indifferent Soil,
“ from the Messenians, who are your Equals
“ in War; or from the Arcadians and Ar-
“ gians: For none of these Nations have ei-
“ ther Gold or Silver; the Desire of which in-
“ duces so many Men to hazard their Lives.
“ But when an Opportunity is offer’d to con-
“ quer all *Asia* with Facility, can you wish for
“ any thing more?” To this Discourse of *Ari-*
stogoras Cleomenes answer’d, “ Milesian Friend,

“ I defer to let you know my Resolution till
“ three Days are pass’d.” When that Time
was come, and they were both met at the ap-
pointed Place, *Cleomenes* ask’d *Aristagoras*, in
how many Days one might travel from the
Coast of *Ionia* to the City where the King was.
But tho *Aristagoras* was in other things a Man
of Art, and much superior in Ability to *Cleo-
menes*; yet he made a Slip in this. For de-
signing to draw the Spartans into *Asia*, he ought
to have abated something of the Account :
Whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a Journey
of three Months : Which *Cleomenes* no sooner
heard, than interrupting him from proceeding
in his Discourse concerning the Way, he said,
“ Milesian Guest, depart out of *Sparta* before
“ the Setting of the Sun : For you have pro-
“ pos’d nothing to the Advantage of the Spar-
“ tans, in advising us to take a March into
“ *Asia*, not to be perform’d in less than three
“ Months after our Landing.” When he had
spoken these Words he withdrew; and *Arista-
goras* taking an Olive-Branch in his Hand,
after the Manner of a Suppliant, went after
Cleomenes, beseeching him to hear; and at the
same time desir’d him to send away his little
Daughter *Gorgo*, who was then with him, be-
ing the only Child he had, and about eight or
nine Years of Age. But *Cleomenes* bid him
say what he wou’d, and not refrain for the
sake of a Child. So *Aristagoras* began with
the Promise of ten Talents, in case *Cleomenes*
would do as he desir’d ; and receiving a Deni-
al, proceeded gradually in his Offers, till he
came to the Sum of fifty Talents ; and then the
Girl cried out, “ Father, This Stranger will
“ corrupt

“ corrupt you, unless you go away presently.” *Cleomenes* pleas’d with the Admonition of the Child, retir’d to another Apartment: And *Aristagoras* was constrain’d to depart immediately from *Sparta*, without obtaining Leave to inform him farther concerning the Way to the Place of the King’s Residence. But that Task I shall take upon me.

ALL this Way is furnish’d with Royal Stations, and magnificent Inns; and is every where safe, and well inhabited. Twenty of these Places of Reception are found in *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, at the distance of ninety four Parasanges and a half from each other. Out of *Phrygia* Men arrive at the *Alis*, and are oblig’d to pass that River by the means of certain Sluces, which are built there, with a considerable Fort. Then entring into *Cappadocia*, and traversing that Country, they find twenty eight of those publick Stations, within the Space of one hundred and four Parasanges, before they arrive on the Borders of *Cilicia*: Where pausing two Gates and two Guards, they cross the Territories of *Cilicia* by a Way of fifteen Parasanges and a half, and meet with three several Stations. A River call’d *Euphrates*, separates *Cilicia* from *Armenia*; and is not passable except in Boats. *Armenia* contains fifteen of these Inns, with one Fort, and fifty six Parasanges and a half in the Way over. Four Rivers run thro this Country; and Men are necessitated to pass all these in Boats. The first is the *Tigris*: The second and third have the same Name, tho they are different Rivers, flowing from different Sources. For the first of these rises in *Armenia*, and the latter in *Matiene*

tiene. The Fourth is call'd the *Gyndes*, which was formerly cut by *Cyrus* into three hundred and sixty Channels. Next to *Armenia* are the Territories of *Matiene*, containing four Stations: And from thence to *Cissia* and the River *Chonspes*, eleven Stations are found within the Space of forty two Parafanges and a half. This River also is no otherwise passable than in Boats, and the City of *Susa* is situate on the other Side. All these Stations are in number one Hundred and eleven: and such are the publick Places of Reception from *Sardis* to *Susa*. Now if we sum up the Number of the Parafanges of this Royal Road, and suppose every Parafange equal to thirty Stades, as the Truth is; we shall find that the four Hundred and fifty Parafanges from *Sardis* to the Memnonian Palace, amount to thirteen thousand five hundred Stades: And he who travels one hundred and fifty Stades every Day, must spend ninety Days in performing the whole Journey. So that *Aristagoras* the Milesian said right, when he told *Cleomenes* the Lacedemonian, that three Months would be requisite to arrive at the Place, where the King was. But if any should desire a more compleat Account, I will satisfy him: For adding the Measure of the Way from *Ephesus* to *Sardis* to the preceding Computation, the whole Number of Stades from the Grecian Sea to the Memnonian City of *Susa*, will be fourteen Thousand and forty. Because five Hundred and forty Stades are accounted from *Ephesus* to *Sardis*. And thus three Days Journey are to be added to that of three Months,

ARISTAGORAS being dismis'd from *Sparta*, went to *Athens*; which City had been deliver'd from their Tyrants in this Manner. After *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, originally descended from the *Gephyræans*, had kill'd *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus* and Brother to *Hippicus*, the Athenians during the Space of four Years, were no less oppress'd by Tyranny than before. *Hipparchus* had seen his own Destruction manifestly foretold in a Dream. For in the Night preceding the Panathenian Festival, a tall and handsom Man seem'd to stand by him, and pronounce these enigmatical Words,

*Lyon, with Courage bear the greatest Ill,
For Vengeance always reaches the Unjust.*

At Break of Day he acquainted the Diviners with his Dream; but afterwards, slighting the Event, he celebrated that Solemnity, in which he perish'd. The *Gephyræans*, from whom those who kill'd *Hipparchus* were descended, derive their Original from the *Eretrians*, as they themselves say: But I am more certainly inform'd, that they are the Posterity of those *Phœnicians*, who arriving in *Bœotia* with *Cadmus*, were appointed by Lot to inhabit the District of *Tanagra*. The *Cadmeans* were first expell'd by the *Argians*; and these *Gephyræans* being afterwards ejected by the *Bœotians*, betook themselves to the *Athenians*; who admitted them into the Number of their *Citizens*, under certain Conditions and Limitations, which are not necessary to be mention'd. These *Phœnicians* who came with *Cadmus*, and the *Gephyræans*

ræans their Descendants, inhabiting this Region, introduc'd many Kinds of Discipline into *Greece*; and particularly Letters, which, as I conceive, were not known among the Grecians before that Time. The first Letters they us'd were entirely Phœnician; but in succeeding Ages they were gradually alter'd both in Sound and Figure; and the Ionians who inhabited the greatest Part of the Country round about, having learnt these Letters from the Phœnicians, made use of them with some small Alteration, and gave out that they ought to go under the Name of Phœnician Letters; as Reason requir'd, because they had been introduc'd by the Phœnicians. Besides, the Ionians, from antient Time, have given the Name of Paper to the Skins of Goats and Sheep, which they then us'd instead of Paper; as many of the Barbarians do to this Day. And I my self have seen in the Temple of Ismenian *Apollo* at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, some Cadmean Letters engrav'd on certain *Tripos*'s, little different from the Ionian Character. One of these Inscriptions runs thus; •

Amphytrion of Telebois plac'd me here.

This was about the Time of *Laius* the Son of *Labdacus*; whose Father *Polydorus* was Son to *Cadmus*. Another *Tripos* has these Words in Hexameter Verses,

*To thee Apollo, by the conqu'ring Hand
Of Scæus offer'd, a rich Gift I stand.*

Scæus was the Son of *Hippocon*, if he were indeed

deed the Donor of this *Tripos*; and not another Person of the same Name, who liv'd about the Time of *Oedipus* the Son of *Laius*. A third *Tripos* is inscrib'd thus, in Hexameters likewise,

*To thee, bright Phœbus, ever-shining Light,
To thee, Laodamas this Off'ring made.*

During the Reign of this Monarch *Laodamas*, the Cadmeans were expell'd by the Argians; and retir'd to *Enchelea*. After which the Gephyræans being ejected by the Bœotians, took themselves to *Athens*; where they erected their own peculiar Temples, distinct from the rest of the Athenians, and particularly one to the Achaian *Ceres*, in which they perform'd the Orgian Rites. And thus having related the Dream of *Hipparchus*, with the Original of the Gephyræans, from whom those who kill'd him were descended, I shall now resume the Discourse I began, and shew in what manner the Athenians were deliver'd from Tyrants.

UNDER the Tyranny of *Hippias*, who was highly incens'd against the Athenians for the Death of *Hipparchus*, the Alcmæonides, being of Athenian Extraction, and at that time banish'd by the Pisistratides, made great Efforts, in conjunction with other Exiles, to obtain their Return: And tho' their Endeavours had been unsuccessful; yet still continuing to apply themselves with Diligence to procure their own Re-establishment, with the Liberty of *Athens*, they fortified *Lipsydrum* in *Pæonia*: And that they might leave nothing unattempted against the Pi-

isistratides, undertook by a Contract made with the Amphictyons, to build the Temple which now is seen at *Delphi*. These Persons being descended of illustrious Ancestors, and very rich, erected a Fabrick, much more magnificent than the Model; and among other things, fac'd the Frontispiece of the Temple with Marble of *Paros*, instead of Stone, which by their Contract they were to bring from *Parium*. The Athenians say, that while the Alcmæonides were at *Delphi*, they prevail'd with the Pythian by a Sum of Money, to exhort all the Spartans, who should come thither to consult the Oracle, either on their own account, or that of the Publick, to deliver *Athens* from Servitude: And that the Lacedemonians finding this Admonition incessantly inculcated, sent *Anchimolus* the Son of *Aster*, an eminent Citizen, with an Army to *Athens*, in order to expel the Pisistratides, tho they were the chief of their Allies: So much they preferr'd the Commands of the God, to all human Obligations. Accordingly *Anchimolus* imbark'd; and arriving at *Phaleron*, landed with his Army. But the Pisistratides, who had timely Notice of this Expedition, demanded Succour of the Thessalians, their Confederates; which they granted, and unanimously resolv'd to send a Thousand Horse to their Assistance, under the Conduct of their King *Cineas* of *Coniae*. Having receiv'd this Reinforcement, the Pisistratides clear'd the Plains of the Phalereans, and render'd the Country practicable for Horse: which when they had done, they order'd the Enemy to be attack'd by the Thessalian Cavalry; who falling upon the Lacedemonians in their Camp,

Camp, kill'd great Numbers of them, with their General *Anchimolius*, and forc'd the rest to betake themselves to their Ships. Thus the first Lacedemonian Army was compell'd to retire; and *Anchimolius* was buried at *Alopece* in *Attica*, near the Temple of *Hercules* in *Cynoferges*. But the Lacedemonians sent afterwards a greater Army to *Athens*, by Land, and not by Sea, under the Conduit of their King *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*: Who, when he had enter'd the Territories of *Attica*, was attack'd by the Thessalian Cavalry; which after a short Dispute he put to flight, with the Loss of about forty Men. Upon this Defeat the Thessalians by a precipitate March return'd to their own Country; and *Cleomenes*, accompanied by those Athenians who were desirous to recover their Liberty, march'd directly to the City, and besieg'd the Tyrants in the Pelasgian Fort, to which they had been oblig'd to retire. Yet the Lacedemonians could not by any means have reduc'd the Enemy; both because they themselves were not prepar'd to carry on a long Siege, and the *Pisistratides* had furnish'd the Place with all kind of Provisions; but must have been necessitated in a few Days to march away to *Sparta*, if an Accident had not happen'd, which was no less pernicious to some, than advantagious to others. For the Sons of the *Pisistratides* fell into the Hands of the Lacedemonians, as some Persons were endeavouring to convey them privately out of the Country; which broke all their Measures in such a manner, that, to redeem their Children, they yielded to whatever the Athenians would pre-

scribe, and oblig'd themselves to depart out of *Athica* in five Days. But soon after, they abandon'd the Country, and retir'd to *Sigeum* upon the River *Scamander*, having possess'd the Dominion of *Athens* six and thirty Years. They came originally from *Pilus* and *Nelea*; and were of the same Extraction with *Codrus* and *Melanthus*, who, tho' Foreigners, had been formerly Kings of *Athens*. And for this Reason *Hippocrates*, the Father of *Pisistratus*; gave that Name to his Son, in Memory of *Pisistratus* the Son of *Nestor*. Thus the Athenians were deliver'd from their Tyrants: And what memorable things they either did or suffer'd, before the Ionians revolted from *Darius*, and *Aristagoras* of *Miletus* came to desire their Assistance, I shall now relate.

THE Power of *Athens* was great before; but after the Expulsion of their Tyrants, became much greater. Two Men of that City surpass'd all the rest in Authority. One of these was *Clithenes*, who was of the Alcmæonian Blood, and the Person, if we may believe common Fame, who prevail'd with the Pythian to do as I have mention'd. The other was *Ishagoras* the Son of *Tisander*, of an illustrious Family; but from what Original descended, I am not able to discover: Only this I know, that the whole Race offers Sacrifices to *Jupiter* of *Caria*. In their Contests for Superiority, *Clithenes* finding his Competitor too powerful, studied to become popular, and form'd the Athenians into ten Tribes; which to that time had been no more than four; changing the Names they had from *Geleon*, *Ægicore*, *Argadeus* and *Opletus*, Sons of *Ion*, into other Appellations deriv'd

riv'd from Heroes who were all Natives of the Country, except *Ajax* only, whose Name he admitted as a near Neighbour and Ally. This he did, as I conjecture, in Imitation of *Clisthenes*, Tyrant of *Sicyon*, his Grandfather by the Mother; who, when he made War against the Argians, silenc'd all the Reciters of Verles, because the People and Country of *Argos* are so much celebrated in those of *Homer*; and having form'd a Design to destroy the Monument of *Adrastus* the Son of *Talaus*, which stands in the Forum of *Sicyon*, because he was an Argian, went to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian, "That *Adrastus* indeed had been King of the *Sicyonians*; whereas he deserv'd to be ston'd." *Clisthenes* finding the God would not yield to his Desires, return'd home, and bent his Thoughts to contrive, how *Adrastus* might of himself become insignificant. When he thought he had found the right way, he sent to the Thebans of *Bœotia*, to acquaint them, that he would bring back the Body of *Melanippus* the Son of *Astacus*; which having done with their Permission, he erected a Temple to him in the strongest Part of the *Prytaneum*. This he did, for I must not omit the true Motive, because *Melanippus* had been the greatest of all the Enemies of *Adrastus*; having kill'd his Brother *Mecistes*, and his Son-in-Law *Tydeus*. After *Clisthenes* had erected this Temple, he abolish'd the Sacrifices and Festivals of *Adrastus*; and instituted the same Rites to *Melanippus* as the *Sicyonians* had been accustom'd to perform in a magnificent manner to the

other. For *Politus*, who was Master of *Sicyon*, leaving no Male Line, gave that Country to *Adrastus* the Son of his Daughter. The Sicyonians, among other Honours paid to him, us'd to celebrate his Mistortunes with tragical Dances ; honouring *Adrastus*, and not *Bacchus*, to that Time. But *Clithenes* transferr'd these Dances to the Worship of *Bacchus*, and all the other Ceremonies to *Melanippus*. In a Word, he impos'd new Names upon the Dorian Tribes of *Sicyon*, that they might bear no Resemblance to those of *Argos* ; and by this means made the Sicyonians ridiculous. For he denominated the other Tribes from Words signifying Swine and Asses, with the Addition of a terminating Syllable : But distinguish'd his own by a Name deriv'd from his Dominion. So that these were call'd Archelaians, while the rest went under the Names of Swine-herds, Ass-keepers, and Hog-herds. The Sicyonian Tribes were call'd by these Names in the Time of *Clithenes*, and after his Death, during the Space of sixty Years ; when, by common Consent they were chang'd into those of Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanates ; and a Fourth Tribe was added, to which they gave the Name of *Ægvalean* from *Ægyras* the Son of *Adrastus*. These things were done by *Clithenes* of *Sicyon* : And the Athenian *Clithenes*, who was Son to the Daughter of the Sicyonian, and had his Name from him, seems to me to have imitated him, from a Contempt of the Ionians ; and that they might not go under the same Denomination with the Tribes of *Athens*. For when he had prevail'd with all the Populace to unite and side with

with him, he chang'd the Names of the Tribes, and augmented their Number, from Four to Ten; appointing a President to every one: And thus having gain'd the People, he became much superior to his Adversaries. *Isagoras* finding his Party broken, form'd a Resolution to apply himself for Succour to *Cleomenes* the Lacedemonian; who from the Time he had besieg'd the Pisistratides, was engag'd with him in a Friendship of mutual Hospitality; and besides was suspected to have made Love to his Wife. In the first Place therefore, *Cleomenes* sent a Herald to *Athens*, and obtain'd the Expulsion of *Clithenes*, with many other Athenians; under colour, that they were guilty of an execrable Action. This Crime was laid to their charge by the Advice of *Isagoras*. For the Alcmæonides, and those of their Party, had been the Authors of a Slaughter, in which *Isagoras* and his Friends were no way concern'd. The Action pass'd in this manner. *Cylon* an Athenian, having been victorious in the Olympian Exercises, attempted to make himself Tyrant; and to that end, forming a Society of Young Men about his own Age, endeavour'd to seize the *Acropolis*: Which not being able to effect, he fled with his Companions to the Image of the Goddess. From that Place they were taken by the Naucrarian Magistracy, who had then the Power in *Athens*, under a Promise, that their Lives should be spar'd. But the Alcmæonides put them all to death. These things were done before the Time of *Pisistratus*. Nevertheless *Cleomenes*, tho' he had by his Herald ejected *Clithenes* and his Accomplices, came to *Athens* with a small Force,

and upon his Arrival expell'd seven Hundred Athenian Families at the Instigation of *Iragoras*. When he had done this, he attempted to dissolve the Council, and to put the Power into the Hands of three Hundred Partizans of *Iragoras*. But finding the Council resolv'd to oppose his Design, and not to obey ; he and *Iragoras*, with those of his Faction, seiz'd the Castel : Where they were besieg'd during two Days by the rest of the Athenians, who adher'd to the Council. On the third Day they surrendered'd, on condition, that all the Lacedemonians in the Place might depart out of the Country. And thus an Admonition which *Cleomenes* had receiv'd, was ratified by the Event : For as he came to take Possession of the *Acropolis*, and was about to enter the Sanctuary of the Goddess, like one who had some Demand to make, the Priestess rising from her Seat before he could open the Door, " Lacedemonian Stranger, said she, return ; and come not into this sacred Place ; for no Dorian is permitted to be here." " Woman, replied *Cleomenes*, I am not a Dorian, but an Achæan :" And slighting her Admonition, seiz'd the Fortress : Where the Lacedemonians were again unsuccessful. The rest were taken by the Athenians and put to death. Among these was *Timochærus*, Brother to *Cleomenes*, of whose Strength and Enterprizes I could give some surprizing Instances. After which the Athenians not doubting that they should be necessitated to make War against the Lacedemonians, recall'd *Cleomenes* with the seven Hundred Families that had been banish'd by *Cleomenes* ; and sent an Embassie to *Sardis*, in order to contract

tract a Confederacy with the Persians. When these Ambassadors were arriv'd, and had spoken according to their Instructions, *Artaphernes* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and Governour of *Sardis*, ask'd who the Athenians were, and what Part of the World they inhabited, that they should desire to make an Alliance with the Persians. And after he had inform'd himself of these Particulars, he plainly told the Ambassadors, that if they would acknowledge the King by presenting him with Earth and Water, he was ready to be their Confederate; if not, he commanded them to depart. Upon this Proposal the Ambassadors consulted together; and being very desirous to conclude the Alliance, made answer, That they would comply: For which they were highly blam'd at their Return. In the mean time *Cleomenes* hearing that the Athenians insulted him both in their Words and Actions, assembled an Army from all Parts of *Peloponesus*, without discovering the Design he had to revenge himself upon the People of *Athens*, and to put the Power into the Hands of *Isagoras*, who went with him out of the Fortress. Thus having collected great Forces, he march'd into the Territories of *Eleusis*; while the Bœotians, as had been concerted, possess'd themselves of *Oinoe* and *Hysia* on the Borders of *Attica*; and the Chalcideans ravag'd other Parts of the Country. The Athenians, tho' they were doubtful at first to which side they should turn their Arms, resolv'd for the present to forbear the Bœotians and Chalcideans; and to bend all their Strength against the Peloponessians, who had invaded *Eleusis*. When the two Armies were ready

ready to engage, the Corinthians, who had consulted together, being convinc'd their Cause was unjust, drew off their Forces and march'd away; *Demaratus*, the other Spartan King, and Son of *Ariston*, following their Example. He commanded the Lacedemonians in conjunction with *Cleomenes*, and never before had any Difference with him. But on occasion of this Disunion a Law was made in *Sparta*, that the two Kings should not for the future march out together at the Head of their Armies, as they had done to that Time; and that one of the Tyndarides should remain with the King, who staid at home: For both these also had been formerly accustom'd to accompany the Army, as Inspectors. When the rest of the Confederates perceiv'd that the Lacedemonian Kings could not agree, and that the Corinthians had quitted their Post, they drew off their Forces likewise. And this was the Fourth Expedition the Dorians made into *Attica*. Twice they enter'd, in order to make War; and twice for the good of the Athenian People. In their first Expedition they settled a Colony in *Megara*, during the Reign of *Codrus* King of *Athens*: They arriv'd a second and third time from *Sparta*, with a design to expel the Pisistratides; and a fourth time, when *Cleomenes* at the Head of the Peloponnesians invaded the Country of *Eleusis*. And thus the Dorian Armies had enter'd the Athenian Territories four several times.

AFTER the inglorious Dissipation of this Army, the Athenians desirous to right themselves for the Injuries they had receiv'd, march'd in the first Place against the Chalcideans; and finding

ing the Bœotians arriv'd to their Succour at the *Euripus*, resolv'd to attack them first. Accordingly falling upon the Enemy, the Athenians obtain'd a compleat Victory; kill'd great Numbers of the Bœotians, and took seven Hundred Prisoners. Then landing the same Day in *Eubæa*, they defeated the Chalcideans; and left a Colony of four Thousand Men in Possession of the Lands belonging to the most wealthy of the Inhabitants, who are call'd by the Name of the Hippobates. All the Prisoners taken in this Battle, were, together with the Bœotians, put into Irons, and kept under a Guard; but afterwards were set at liberty by the Athenians in consideration of a Ransom of two Mines paid for each Man. Nevertheless the Athenians preserv'd the Fetters in the *Acropolis*: Where they remain'd to my Time, hanging on a Wall; which facing the Apartment that opens to the Westward, was damag'd by Fire in the Median War. The Tenth Part of this Ransom they consecrated; and having made a Chariot with Four Horses in Front, all of Brass, they plac'd it in the Portico of the *Acropolis*, on the Left-side of the Entrance, bearing this Inscription,

*When the victorious Youth of Athens made
The proud Bœotian and Chalcidean bow
Beneath the Chain, they to Minerva plac'd
This Monument, the Tenth of all the Spoil.*

Thus the Affairs of the Athenians flourish'd. Yet they are not the only Example of this Kind. For all Places abound in Instances of the Prosperity that attends an equal Distribution
of

of Power. Under their Tyrants indeed they were not inferior in War to any of their Neighbours: But they had no sooner freed themselves from that Servitude, than they far surpass'd all the rest, and became the principal Nation of *Greece*: Which manifestly shews, that as long as they were oppress'd, they acted remissly, and would not exert their Courage to the utmost; because they knew their Victories could only redound to the Advantage of their Masters; whereas after they had recover'd their Liberty, every Man contended who should do best, because they fought for themselves. And such was the State of the Athenian Affairs.

AFTER this, the Thebans meditating Revenge against the Athenians, sent to consult the Oracle; and the Answer of the Pythian was, That they must not expect the Satisfaction they desir'd, from their own Power; but should go to *Polyphemus*, and ask the Assistance of their nearest Neighbours. With this Answer the Messengers return'd, and when they had reported the Words of the Oracle in a general Assembly, the Thebans said, "Have we not the Tanagræans, Coronæans and Thespians for our nearest Neighbours? Are not these our Companions in Fight, and always ready to take part with us in every War? What need have we then to ask their Assistance? But perhaps these Words may contain some other Sense." As they were discoursing in this manner, one of the Assembly said, he thought he understood the Meaning of the Oracle. "For, said he, according to common Fame, Asopus had two Daughters, Thebe and Ægina. " Now

“ Now because these were Sisters, I presume
“ the God admonishes us to desire the Ægi-
“ netes to be our Avengers.” The Thebans
approving this Opinion more than any other,
sent to the People of *Ægina*, as their nearest
Friends, to desire Succour according to the
Admonition of the Oracle: And upon their
Request, the Æginetæ promis’d to send the
Æacides to their Assistance. In conjunction
with these, the Thebans attack’d the Athenians;
but being repuls’d with great Loss, they sent
back the Æacides, and desir’d a farther Supply
of Men. Upon which the People of *Ægina*,
elated with their present Felicity, and remem-
bring the antient Differences they had with
the Athenians, invaded the Territories of
Athens at the Desire of the Bœotians, without
any preceding Denuntiation of War. For
while the Athenian Forces were employ’d a-
gainst the Bœotians, they made a Descent into
Attica, and ravag’d the Country of *Phaleron*,
with many other Places on the Coast, to the
great Damage of the Athenians. This Enni-
ty of the Æginetæ against the Athenians be-
gan thus. The Epidaurians seeing their Coun-
try become unfruitful, sent to consult the Oracle
of *Delphi* concerning the Cause of that Cala-
mity. The Pythian answer’d, That if they
would erect the Statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias*,
their Affairs should go better. Then the Epi-
daurians farther demanded, whether those
Images should be made of Stone or of Brass:
and the Pythian replied, of neither; but of the
Wood of a cultivated Olive. Having receiv’d
this Answer, the Epidaurians desired Leave
of the Athenians to cut down an Olive-Tree,
persuaded

persuaded that those of that Soil were the most sacred: And some say no Olive Trees grew at that Time in any other Country than that of *Athens*. The Athenians told them they were ready to grant their Request, provided they would come annually to the City, and offer Sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Erechtheus*. This Condition the Epidaurians accepting obtain'd their Desires; and after they had erected the Statues they form'd out of that Wood, their Country became fruitful again, and they perform'd the Promise they had made to the Athenians. In those, and preceding Times, the *Aeginetes* were dependent upon the Epidaurians in all things; and particularly in Matters relating to the Distribution of Justice, whenever they were either Appellants or Defendants. But afterwards applying themselves to the building of Ships, they ungratefully revolted from the Epidaurians; and being superior at Sea, among many other Hostilities exercis'd against them, took away the Statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias*; which they carried off, and erected at *Oia* in the midland Part of their own Country, about twenty Stades from their City. When they had done this, to render them propitious, they appointed Sacrifices, accompanied with Dances perform'd by Women in a ludicrous Manner; assigning to each Image ten Men to preside in the Solemnity. On this Occasion these Dancers were permitted to abuse all the Women of that Country with opprobrious Language; but not the Men: Which they did, in Conformity to the former Practice of the Epidaurians; who besides these, had other Religious Ceremonies not

fit to be mention'd. When these Statues were taken away, the Epidaurians ceas'd to perform their Contract with the Athenians; and being reminded of their Default, openly insisted that they were under no farther Obligation. For, said they, so long as we had those Images in our Country, so long we complied with our Agreement: But to demand the same Acknowledgment from us since the time they have been taken away, is unjust: The Æginetes, who are now in Possession, ought to do, as we did before. Upon this the Athenians dispatch'd a Messenger to *Ægina* with Order to demand the Statues; but the Æginetes made answer, that they had no business with them. The Athenians say, that after this Refusal, they sent a Ship with some of their Citizens to *Ægina* by a publick Decree; who upon their Arrival attempted to take off the Statues from the Bases, and to bring them away, because they had been made of Athenian Timber: But finding themselves unable to succeed that way, they threw Cords about the Images; and as they endeavour'd to pull them down, they were so terrified with Thunder and an Earthquake, that they became outrageously mad, and kill'd one another like Enemies; till no more than one remain'd alive, who escap'd to *Phaleron*. In this manner the Athenians relate the Story. But the Æginetes say they arriv'd with a great Fleet, and not with a single Ship, as is pretended: For they could easily have resisted such a Number as might come in one or a few Ships, tho they themselves had not been furnish'd with any. Nevertheless they give no certain Account, whether

whether they left the Athenians to do as they thought fit, out of a Distrust of their own Naval Strength, or designedly perform'd the Part they acted: But only say, that the Athenians meeting with no Opposition, landed their Men, and march'd directly to the Statues: That after they had in vain endeavour'd to move them from their Pedestals, they made use of Cords to draw them down; and that the Images upon their Descent perform'd an Action, which I cannot believe, tho' perhaps some others may. For, said they, both these Statues fell down on their Knees, and have ever since continued in that Posture. These things are related of the Athenians by the People of *Ægina*: And concerning themselves they say, that being inform'd the Athenians would not fail to make War against them, they prevail'd with the Argians to put themselves into a Readiness to come to their Assistance. And accordingly, when the Athenians were landed in *Ægina*, the Argians enter'd the Island privately, from *Epidaurus*, and unexpectedly falling upon the Athenians, cut off their Retreat to the Ships: In which Instant the Thunder and Earthquake happen'd. Thus the Argians and *Æginetes* relate the Story; and the Athenians themselves confess, that no more than one Man escap'd out of this Action to *Attica*. But whereas the Argians affirm, that they destroy'd the Army of *Attica*, one Man only excepted; the Athenians on the contrary say, some Demon interpos'd; and the surviving Person soon perish'd in this manner: When he return'd to *Athens*, and had given an account of this Disaster, the

Wives of those who had made the Descent upon *Ægina*, highly incens'd that one Man alone should be left alive of the whole Number, assembled together about him, and asking for their Husbands, kill'd him with the Points of the Pins which fasten'd their Garments. They add, that the Athenians were more disturb'd at this Action, than at their Defeat; and having no other way to punish the Women, compell'd them to alter their Dress, and wear the Ionian Habit. For before that time, the Wives of the Athenians were cloath'd in the Dorian Fashion, little differing from that of *Corinth*: But afterwards they were oblig'd to wear a linen Vest, that needed not to be fasten'd with Pins. Yet if we will speak the Truth, this Garment was originally of *Caria*, and not of *Ionia*: And indeed the antient Habit of all the Women of *Greece* was the same with that which we now call Dorian. However, from this Event a Custom was introduc'd among the Argians and *Æginetes*, of making Pins greater by three fourth Parts than before; and of these consisted the principal Offerings that were dedicated in the Temples of the Gods by the Women of *Ægina*: who might not carry to those Places any thing made in the Territories of *Attica*, not even a Pitcher; but were forc'd to drink there in Pots of their own Country. In a word, the Women of *Argos* and *Ægina*, in despite to those of *Athens*, wear at this Day Pins of a greater Size, than they used in antient time. Thus I have related the Original of that Enmity which the *Æginetes* conceiv'd against the Athenians; and which mov'd them so readily to assist the Bœotians at the Desire of the Thebans; be-

cause they had not forgotten the things that had pass'd about the two Images.

WHILE the Forces of *Ægina* were ravaging the maritim Places of *Attica*, and the Athenians prepar'd to march out against them, an Oracle was brought to *Athens* from *Delphi*, exhorting them to defer the Punishment of the *Æginetes* during thirty Years ; and in the one and thirtieth Year, to build a Temple to *Æacus*, and then to begin the War, with full Assurance of Success : adding farther, that if they would not be dissuaded from undertaking that Enterprize immediately, they should sustain as great Losses as their Enemies, and be overcome in the end. When the Athenians heard the Prediction, they built a Temple to *Æacus*, which is now seen standing in the publick Place ; yet would not defer the War for thirty Years upon the Admonition of the Oracle, because they had already suffer'd by the Hostilities of the *Æginetes*. But as they were preparing to take their Revenge, the Lacedemonians obstructed their Design. For being inform'd of the Fraud contriv'd between the Alcmaæonides and the Pythian, together with all that she had done against the Pisistratides, they perceiv'd they had injur'd themselves doubly ; having expell'd their own Friends and Allies out of *Athens*, and receiving no Thanks from the Athenians for that Kindness. Besides, they were made acquainted with certain Oracles, threatening them with Indignities from the Athenians ; of which they knew nothing till the Return of *Cleomenes* ; who finding them in the *Acropolis*, after they had been in the possession of the Pisistratides, and left in that

that Place at their Expulsion, brought them away with him to *Sparta*. The Lacedemonians therefore having receiv'd this Information, and considering the prosperous Condition of the Athenians; with their manifest Unwillingness to acknowledge the Superiority of *Sparta*; were persuaded that if the People of *Attica* should continue in Freedom, they would soon aspire to an Equality; and on the contrary would be weak and humble if they were under a Tyranny: Considering these things, I say, they sent for *Hippias* the Son of *Pisistratus* from *Sigeum* on the *Hellespont*, to which Place the Pisistratides were retir'd; and after his Arrival, having assembled the Deputies of the rest of their Confederates, some of the Spartans spoke to this effect. " Friends and Allies, we are now " convinc'd of the Error we committed, when " relying upon deceitful Oracles, we not only " expell'd from their Country, Men, who " were our trusty Confederates, and had un- " dertaken to put *Athens* into our hands; " but deliver'd the City to an ungrateful Peo- " ple, who, after they had been set at liberty " by us, had the Insolence to eject our King " with Loss and Dishonour; and from that " time have advanc'd both in Pride and Pow- " er; as their Neighbours the *Boeotians* and " *Chalcideans* have already experienc'd; and " others may soon feel, if they should hap- " pen to incur their Displeasure. Since then " we have been guilty of so great a Fault, " let us agree to march against them, and en- " deavour to take Revenge. For to that End " we have sent for *Hippias*, and summon'd e- " very one of you; that by common Consent,

“ and united Forces, we may reinstate him in
“ the Possession of *Athens*, and restore what
“ we took away from him.” To this effect
the Lacedemonians express’d themselves. But
their Confederates not approving their Propo-
sition, were silent: Only *Socrates* the Corin-
thian made the following Speech; “ Then,
“ surely, said he, the Heavens will sink beneath
“ the Earth, and the Earth ascend above the
“ Air; Men shall live in the Sea, and the
“ Fishes possess the Habitations of Men, when-
“ soever you, O Lacedemonians, shall dissolve a
“ Commonwealth, and endeavour to erect a
“ Tyranny, than which nothing can be found
“ more unjust, and more pernicious among
“ Men! But if a Tyranny appear to you so ex-
“ cellent a thing, establish one first in your
“ own Country; and then with a better Grace
“ you may attempt to set up Tyrants in other
“ Places. But would you, who are altogether
“ unacquainted with the Exercise of tyrannical
“ Power, and have carefully provided to pre-
“ vent any such in *Sparta*, condemn your Allies
“ to that Shame? I persuade myself, if you
“ had been taught by our Experience, you
“ would propose better things to us. The
“ State of *Corinth* was formerly this: The
“ Government being oligarchical was admi-
“ nistered by those, who were known by the
“ Name of the Bacchiades, and had been ac-
“ custom’d to marry only among their own
“ Blood. *Amphion*, one of these, had a Daugh-
“ ter nani’d *Labda*, who was born lame: And
“ because none of the Bacchiades would
“ marry her, she was given to *Etion* the Son
“ of *Echerates*, of the Tribe of *Petra*, tho
“ originally

“ originally of *Lapithe* and *Cenide*. But *Etion* “ having no Children by this Woman, nor by “ any other, went to *Delphi*, on that account ; “ and as he enter’d the Temple, the Pythian “ saluted him with the following Lines :

Etion, less honour’d than thy Merits claim,
Labda is pregnant, and a Stone shall bring ;
To crush the Monarchs, and Corinthus rule.

“ This Prediction was reported to the Bac- “ chiades, who had not understood a former “ Oracle, concerning *Corinth*, tending to the “ same End with that of *Etion*, and conceiv’d “ in these Terms,

A brooding Eagle on the Rocks should hatch
A Lyon-whelp, destructive, fierce, and strong.
Consider, Corinth, and Pirene fair,
What must ensue from this prodigious Birth.

“ The Bacchiades, who had never been able “ to comprehend the Meaning of this Oracle, “ no sooner heard that which was deliver’d to “ *Etion*, than they presently understood the o- “ ther ; and perceiving that both these Oracles “ foretold the same Event, they would not pub- “ lish their Suspicions ; but resolv’d to destroy “ whatever should be born to *Etion*. In this “ Resolution, after the Woman was brought to “ bed, they sent ten of their own Number, in- “ to the District where *Etion* liv’d, with Or- “ ders to dispatch the Child : And when those “ Men arriv’d in *Petra*, they went to the House “ of *Etion*, and desir’d to see the Infant : *Labda*

“ not at all suspecting the Cause of their coming, and imagining they ask'd that Question out of Friendship to the Father, brought the Child and put him into the Hands of one of the Ten ; who had made an Agreement by the way, that whoever should first receive the Infant, should let him fall upon the Floor. But the Child happening by strange Fortune to smile upon the Person, into whose Hands the Mother had deliver'd him, mov'd his Compassion to such a degree, that he could not prevail with himself to perform his Promise. So the first relenting gave him to another, and he to a third ; till the Infant had pass'd thro the Hands of all the Ten : And when none of the Company would kill him, they deliver'd him again to his Mother, and went out of the House. But standing still before the Door, they fell into a warm Debate, mutually blaming each other, and especially the first who took the Child, for not doing as they had determin'd. At last they all agreed to go in again, and that every one should be equally concern'd in the Death of the Infant. But, because the Desolation of Corinth was to proceed from the Race of *Etion*, *Labda*, who from within had overheard all their Discourse, fearing they would return with a Resolution to kill the Child, hid him in a Cypsela of Corn, as the securest Place ; not doubting, if they should come in again, they would make a most diligent Search. Which indeed they did : For they return'd, and strictly examin'd every Part of the House : But not finding the Child, they

Book V. *TERPSICHORE.* 55

“ they resolv’d to depart, and tell those who
“ sent them, that they had put their Orders in
“ execution. After this, *Etion* brought up his
“ Son, and nam’d him *Cypselus*, from the Mea-
“ sure of Corn, in which he lay conceal’d,
“ when he escap’d so great a Danger. He had
“ no sooner attain’d the Age of a Man, than
“ he went to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, and
“ in Confidence of an ambiguous Answer, at-
“ tempted, and subdued *Corinth*. The Words
“ were these;

*A happy Man is come within my House;
Cypselus, Etion’s Son, and Corinth’s King:
He and his Sons: But then no more from him.*

“ When *Cypselus* had usurp’d the Dominion of
“ *Corinth*, he behav’d himself thus. He ba-
“ nish’d many of the *Corinthians*, depriv’d
“ many of their Estates, and put a greater
“ Number to death. After a Reign of thirty
“ Years, attended by constant Prosperity,
“ his Son *Periander* succeeded him in the Ty-
“ ranuy. He was at first more mild than
“ his Father: But afterwards having by his
“ Ambassadors contracted a Friendship with
“ *Thrasybulus* Tyrant of *Miletus*, he became far
“ more cruel than *Cypselus*. He sent one to
“ ask *Thrasybulus* in his Name, how he might
“ manage his Affairs, and govern the *Corin-*
“ *thians* in the safest manner: The Milesian
“ conducting this Person out of the City, en-
“ ter’d with him into a Field of Corn, which
“ he travers’d in every Part; and entertain-
“ ing him with Questions frequently repeat-
“ ed, concerning his Voyage from *Corinth*, cut

“ down and threw away all the tallest Stemms
“ he found in his Passage ; till he had destroy’d
“ the best and fairest of the Wheat in that
“ manner. When he had done this quite over
“ the Piece of Ground, he dismiss’d the Am-
“ bassador, without charging him with any
“ Message. At his Return, *Periander* was ear-
“ nest to know the Answer of *Thrasybulus* ;
“ but he assur’d him he had receiv’d none ; and
“ wond’ring he should be sent to such a mad
“ Man, who destroy’d his own Goods, related
“ what he had seen him do. *Periander* present-
“ ly comprehended the Meaning of *Thrasybulus*,
“ and understanding that by this Action he
“ had counsel’d him to take away the Lives
“ of the most eminent Citizens, exercis’d all
“ manner of Cruelties in *Corinth* ; and by
“ Death and Banishment exterminated those
“ who had escap’d the Fury of *Cypselus*. Be-
“ sides, he stripp’d all the Corinthian Women
“ of their Clothes in one Day, on the account
“ of his Wife *Melissa*. For when he sent
“ Messengers into *Thesprotia* upon the River
“ *Acheron*, to consult her after her Death, con-
“ cerning a Treasure deposited in her Hands
“ by a Friend, *Melissa* appearing, said, she
“ would make no Discovery, nor tell in what
“ Place it lay, because she was cold and na-
“ ked ; the Clothes which were buried with
“ her proving useless, by reason they had not
“ been burn’d. And to confirm the Truth of
“ this, she added, that *Periander* had put his
“ Bread into a cold Oven. When these Words
“ were reported to *Periander*, he well under-
“ stood the Comparison of *Melissa*, because
“ he had indeed lain with her after Death ;
“ and

“ and immediately commanded Proclamation
“ to be made, that all the Wives of the Co-
“ rinthians should appear forthwith in the
“ Temple of *Juno*. The Women went thither
“ accordingly, richly dress’d, as their Man-
“ ner was on Festival Days; and were all
“ stripp’d with their Attendants by the Guards
“ of *Periander*, which he had privately intro-
“ duc’d to that end. Then taking up the Gar-
“ ments, he order’d them to be carried and
“ burnt on the Grave of *Melissa*, whilst he per-
“ form’d his Devotions there. This done, he
“ sent again to inquire concerning the Treas-
“ ure of his Friend, and the Phantom of *Me-*
“ *lissa* nam’d the Place where she had conceal’d
“ it. These, O Lacedemonians, these are the
“ Fruits you will reap by erecting Tyrannies;
“ for such are the genuine Actions of Tyrants.
“ We Corinthians were seiz’d with Admira-
“ tion, when we understood you had sent for
“ *Hippias*; but our Amazement is highly aug-
“ mented, since we heard your Proposal. We
“ adjure you therefore by the Grecian Gods,
“ that you would not establish Tyrannies in
“ the Cities of *Greece*. Nevertheless, if you
“ resolve to persist in your Design, and against
“ all Right endeavour to restore *Hippias*, know,
“ that the Corinthians will have no Part in
“ the Attempt.” Thus spoke *Sosicles*, Am-
bassador of *Corinth*. But *Hippias*, after he
had attested the same Gods, told him, that
the Corinthians would be the first of all Peo-
ple to regret the *Pisistratides*, when the fatal
Time should come, that they should be op-
press’d by the Athenians: And this he said, in
Confidence of certain Oracles, which he was

more acquainted with than any Man. The rest of the Confederates, who had been silent before, having heard the Speech of *Sosicles*, openly declar'd themselves; and unanimously embracing the Sentiments of the Corinthian Ambassador, adjur'd the Lacedemonians not to introduce any Innovation into a Grecian City. And thus that Design was defeated.

AFTER the Departure of *Hippias*, *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*, made him an Offer of *Athemenis*, and the Thessalians another of *Iolcus*; but accepting neither, he return'd to *Sigeum*, which *Pisistratus* had formerly taken from the Mityleneans, and put into the Hands of his natural Son *Hegestratus*, born of an Argian Woman. Yet he was not undisturb'd in his Possession: For the Mityleneans from *Achilleum*, and the Athenians from *Sigeum*, enter'd into a long War about the City; the first demanding Restitution, and the Athenians rejecting their Claim, and asserting, that the Æolians had no more Right to the Territories of *Ilium*, than they, or any of the Grecians, who assisted *Menelaus* after the Rape of *Helena*. Many remarkable Actions of various kinds happen'd during this War: Among others, one relating to the Poet *Alcaeus*; who being present in a Battle, and seeing the Athenians victorious, fled out of the Field and made his escape: But the Athenians having found his Arms, hung them up in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*: And on that Occasion *Alcaeus* afterwards compos'd a Poem, which he publish'd in *Mitylene*, lamenting the Disgrace to his Companion *Melanippus*. In the End, *Periander* the Son of *Cypselus* being chosen Arbitrator on both sides,

sides, reconciled the Athenians and Mityleneans, on Condition that each Party should retain what they had. And by this Title the Athenians possess'd *Sigeum*.

AFTER the Return of *Hippias* from *Lacedemon* to *Asia*, he set all his Invention to work against the Athenians; endeavouring by Aspersions to render them odious to *Artaphernes*, and omitting nothing that might tend to reduce *Athens* under the Power of *Darius* and himself. Which when the Athenians understood, they sent Ambassadors to *Sardis*, with Instructions to sollicit the Persians not to give ear to the Athenian Exiles. But *Artaphernes* haughtily told them, that if they desir'd to be safe, they must receive *Hippias* again. The Athenians rejected the Condition, and chose rather to declare open Enmity against the Persians. When they had taken this Resolution, and were in these Terms with the Persians; in that Conjunction *Aristagoras* the Milesian, who had been commanded to depart from *Sparta* by *Cleomenes* the Lacedemonian, arriv'd in *Athens*; which of all the Grecian Cities was the principal in Power. There, addressing himself to the popular Assembly, he repeated all that he had said before in *Sparta* touching the Wealth of *Asia*: And to encourage them farther to make War upon the Persians, he assur'd them, that having neither Shield nor Lance, they must of necessity be an easy Conquest. He withal reminded them, that the Milesians were a Colony of the Athenians, and might justly expect their Assistance in this Exigency, since they were arriv'd to so great Power. In a word, he omitted no kind of Promises or Prayers; till at length,

length, he obtain'd their Consent. For he thought a Multitude might with more Facility be seduc'd than one Man. And thus he, who had not been able to prevail with *Cleomenes* the Lacedemonian singly, persuaded thirty thousand Athenians to do whatever he desir'd. In this Disposition the Athenians by a publick Decree determin'd to send twenty Ships to the Succour of the Ionians, under the Conduct of *Melanthius*, a Man universally esteem'd in *Athens*. And from this Source the Evils that afterwards fell upon the Grecians and Barbarians, were principally deriv'd. *Aristagoras* sail'd before the Departure of this Fleet, and arriving in *Miletus*, form'd a Design, which could be of no Advantage to the Ionians; nor was contriv'd by him to that End; but only to make *Darius* uneasy. He sent a Man into *Phrygia*, to the Pæonians, who had been carried away Prisoners by *Megabyzus* from the River *Strymon*, and plac'd in a certain District of *Phrygia*; where they inhabited together. When this Person arriv'd, he made the following Speech; “Men of *Pæonia*, *Aristagoras* the Milesian has sent me hither, to open a Way for your Deliverance, if you will take his Advice. All *Ionia* has revolted from the King, and therefore you may safely return to your own Country: For you can meet with no Obstruction from hence to the Sea; and the rest shall be our Care.” The Pæonians heard the Proposition with exceeding Joy, and having assembled their Wives and Children, fled away towards the Coast; a few only excepted, who fearing the Consequences staid behind. When they were come to the Sea, they

they embark'd ; and pass'd over to *Chio* : Where they were no sooner landed, than the Persian Cavalry arriv'd in great Numbers on the Shoar, pursuing the Pæonians ; and finding they had made their Escape, sent Orders to *Chio* to command them to return. But the Pæonians slighting the Message, were transported by the Chians to *Lesbos*, and by the Lesbians to *Doriscus* ; from whence they march'd by Land into *Pæonia*. In the mean time the Athenians arriv'd with twenty Ships at *Miletus*, accompanied by five more of the Eretrians, who engag'd not in this Expedition on the account of the Athenians ; but to requite a preceding Kindness they had receiv'd from the Milesians. For in a former War the Milesians had taken Part with the Eretrians, against the Chalcedonians supported by the Samians their Confederates. *Aristagoras*, after the Arrival of this Succour, and the rest of his Allies, resolv'd to attempt *Sardis*. But because he himself design'd to stay at *Miletus*, and not to go with the Army in Person, he appointed his Brother *Charopinus* to command the Milesians, and plac'd *Hermonphantus* at the Head of the other Forces. The Ionians arriving at *Ephesus*, left their Ships in the Harbour of *Coresus*, belonging to that City ; and chusing Ephesians for their Guides, advanc'd with a numerous Army by the Side of the River *Caystrus* ; pass'd the Mountain *Tmolus*, and coming before *Sardis*, took the City without Opposition. But *Artaphernes* with a strong Garrison kept the Castle from falling into their Hands ; and an Accident happening, depriv'd them likewise of the Pillage they expected : For as most of the Houses in *Sardis* were built with

with Cane; and even those which were built with Brick, were roof'd with Canes; one House being set on fire by a Soldier, spread the Flame throughout the Place. During this Fire, all the Lydians and Persians who were in the City, finding no way open for their Escape, because the Flame had seiz'd the outermost Parts, ran together in great Numbers to the publick Place; thro the midst of which the River *Pactolus* runs, sweeping down Grains of Gold from the Hills of *Tmolus*, and being afterwards receiv'd by the *Hermus*, passes thro the same Channel to the Sea. Thus the Lydians and Persians being assembled in great Multitudes upon the Place, and on both sides of the River, were constrain'd to defend themselves: And the Ionians seeing one Part of the Enemy standing in their Defence, and greater Numbers ready to support them, retir'd with Precipitation to the Mountain *Tmolus*, and march'd away by Night to their Ships. In this Conflagration, the Temple of *Cybele*, the Goddess of that Country, was burnt; which afterwards serv'd the Persians for a Pretence to set on fire the Temples of *Greece*. When the Persians who had their Habitations on this side the River *Halys*, were inform'd of these things, they drew together, and march'd to the Succour of the Lydians: But not finding the Ionians at *Sardis*, they followed them with all Diligence to *Ephesus*; where they fought and defeated the Ionian Army with great Slaughter. In this Battle many illustrious Persons were kill'd; and among others, *Eualcides* General of the Eretrians, who on account of his Olympian Victories having obtain'd

obtain'd divers Crowns, had been highly celebrated by *Simonides* the Cean. Those who escap'd out of the Field, dispers'd themselves into various Places. And such was the Success of this Expedition. After which, the Athenians totally abandon'd the Ionians; and when they were sollicited on their Part by the Ambassadors of *Aristagoras* in the most pressing Terms, declar'd they would send them no Assistance. But the Ionians, tho they were depriv'd of that Succour; yet because they had done so much against *Darius*, prepar'd themselves to carry on the War with no less Vigour than before; and sailing into the *Hellespont* reduc'd *Byzantium*, with all the adjacent Cities under their Obedience. Then proceeding farther with their Fleet, they prevail'd with many of the Carians to become their Confederates; for the City of *Caunus*, which before had rejected their Alliance, resolv'd to assist the Ionians after the burning of *Sardis*. And all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians, readily enter'd into the same Confederacy; having already revolted from *Darius* in this manner: *Onesilus* the younger Brother of *Gorgus* King of the Salaminians, Son to *Cheris*, and Grandson of *Sironius* the Son of *Euelthon*, having formerly solicited his Brother at divers times to revolt against the King; when he heard of the Ionian Defection, renew'd his Instances with greater Earnestness than before. But finding he could not prevail upon *Gorgus*, he waited an Opportunity; and one Day, when his Brother was gone out of the City with his Partizans, shut the Gates against him. *Gorgus* being thus excluded, fled to the Medes; and *Onesilus* having potless'd

posseſſ'd himself of *Salamis*, persuaded the Cyprians to join with him, and besieg'd the Amathusians, who ſingly refuſ'd to revolt at his Solicitation. Whilſt *Onesilus* was employ'd in the Siege of *Amathus*, *Darius* being inform'd that *Sardis* had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that *Aristagoras* the Milesian had been the Author of this Confederacy, as well as the Contriver of that Enterprize; was not much concern'd about the Ionians, who, he doubted not, might be easily puniſh'd for their Rebellion; but demanding what People those Athenians were, he had no ſooner receiv'd an Answer to that Question, than taking a Bow into his Hand, he let go an Arrow into the Air, with these Words; “Grant, O *Jupiter*, that I may be reveng'd of the Athenians!” After he had thus ſpoken, he commanded one of his Attendants thrice to repeat the ensuing Words, every time he ſhould ſit down to eat, “Monarch, remember the Athenians.” Then calling *Histiæus* the Milesian, whom he had long detain'd with him, *Darius* ſaid; “I am inform'd, *Histiæus*, that the Governor you appointed to command in *Miletus* during your Absence, has executed an injurious Enterprize againſt me; for he has brought Men into *Asia* from the other Continent, and having perſuaded the Ionians, who ſhall not go long unpunish'd, to join them, has with thoſe Forces depriv'd me of *Sardis*. Can you think these Actions commendable? Or can any one imagine they were done without your Advice? Be careful therefore to avoid ſuch Faults for the future.” To this *Histiæus* ſaid;

answer'd; " O King, what have you said ?
" That I shou'd advise a thing, which might
" give you the least Occasion of Discontent !
" What Advantage could I propose to myself
" by such an Action ? Can I want any thing ?
" I who live in the same Splendor with you,
" and am honour'd with the Confidence of
" all your Counsels ? If my Lieutenant is guil-
" ty of the Actions you mention, be assur'd,
" he himself has been the Contriver. But
" in the first Place, I cannot persuade my-
" self, that he and the Milesians have attempt-
" ed any thing against your Authority. Yet
" if the Charge should be true, and he has
" indeed done as you have been inform'd, con-
" sider, O King, whether your Affairs are
" not prejudic'd by my Absence from the ma-
" ritim Parts. For the Ionians seem only to have
" waited till I should be withdrawn, to put
" in execution a Design they had conceiv'd
" before ; and if I had continued in *Ionia*,
" not one of those Cities would have revolted.
" Dismiss me therefore with Speed, and send
" me back to *Ionia*; that I may restore the
" Affairs of those Countries to their former
" Condition, and deliver the Milesian Deputy
" into your Hands, who has been the Au-
" thor of these Euterprizes. When I have
" perform'd this according to your Desire,
" I swear by the Gods of the King, not to
" change the Garments I wear in my Voy-
" age to *Ionia*, before I render the great Is-
" land of *Sardinia* tributary to *Darius*." *Histia-*
us said these Words in order to deceive the
King ; and succeeded in his Design. For *Dari-*
us was persuaded to let him go : Only com-

manding him to return to *Susa*, so soon as the things he had promis'd should be perform'd.

WHEN the News of *Sardis* was brought to the King, and he shot an Arrow into the Air; whilst he conferr'd with *Histiens*, and *Histiens* was on his Journey to the Sea; in all this Time the following Actions pass'd. *Onesiphorus* the Salaminian, who was employ'd in the Siege of *Amathus*, having receiv'd Information, that a great Army under the Conduct of *Artabazus* a Persian, was suddenly expected to land in *Cyprus*, sent Heralds to demand the Assistance of the Ionians; who without much hesitation assembled a considerable Fleet, and sail'd to *Cyprus*. The Persians on their Part landing their Men from *Cilicia*, march'd up to *Salamis*; while the Phœnicians kept cruising with their Ships about the Promontory, which is called the Key of the Island. In the mean time the Cyprian Princes summon'd the Ionian Captains together, and spoke to them in these Terms; "Men of *Ionia*, we give you the Choice, either to fight against the Persians or Phœnicians. If you chuse to engage the Persians in a land Battle, 'tis time to bring your Forces ashore; that we may go on board your Ships, and fight the Phœnicians: But if you are more willing to make an Experiment of your Strength against the Phœnicians, do as you think convenient; that whether you determine one way or the other, we may endeavour with all our Power to preserve the Liberty of *Cyprus* and *Ionia*." To this Discourse the Ionians answer'd, "We are sent by the general Council of *Ionia* to defend the Sea; and not to deliver our Ships to

“ to the Cyprians, in order to fight the Persians by Land. We shall endeavour to do our Duty in the best manner we can, according to the Instructions we have receiv’d. On your part, the Remembrance of the Evils you suffer’d under the Tyranny of the Medes, ought to incite you to exert the utmost of your Courage and Virtue.” Soon after this Answer made by the Ionians, the Persians were seen advancing into the Plains of *Salamis*; upon which the Kings of *Cyprus* drawing up their Forces in order of Battle, plac’d the best of the Salaminians and Solians against the Front of the Persians, and all the rest of the Cyprians against the Enemy’s Auxiliaries. *Onesilus* voluntarily plac’d himself directly against *Artibius* the Persian General, who was mounted on a manag’d Horse accustom’d to rise against an arm’d Enemy. Of this *Onesilus* had been already inform’d; and having with him an Officer well skill’d in Military Affairs, and of great Boldness, he said to him; “ *Artibius* is mounted on a Horse, taught to stand upright, and with his Feet and Teeth to kill the Man he is push’d against: Chuse therefore immediately, whether thou wilt undertake to deal with *Artibius* or his Horse. I am ready, answer’d the Officer, to do both, or either, or any other thing you shall command: But I shall take liberty to propose that which I think most conducing to your Honour. He who is a King and a General, should never decline to engage against one who is of the same Condition. For if you kill him, your Glory is great; and if he kills you, which the Gods avert, you are

“ only unfortunate in part, because you fall
“ by a noble Hand. In the mean time we
“ Subjects will fight against those who are
“ our Equals: And as to the Horse, you have
“ nothing to fear; for I take upon me, to
“ prevent him from falling upon any Man,
“ for the time to come.” Soon after these
Words, the Armies engag'd both by Sea and
Land. All the Ionians fought vigorously, and
defeated the Phœnicians at Sea: But the Sa-
mians surpass'd the rest in Valour that Day.
By Land, when the Armies met, and the Bat-
tle was begun, *Artibius* push'd his Horse to-
wards *Oneilus*, and *Oneilus* struck *Artibius*, as
he had concerted before with his Officer. The
Officer on his part, seeing the Horse raising
his Feet to the Shield of *Oneilus*, struck him
with a Scythe, and cut them both off: So
that *Artibius* the Persian General, fell with
his Horse to the Ground at one Blow. But
as the Dispute grew hot on both sides, *Stesenor*
Tyrant of *Curium*, which is said to be a Co-
lony of *Argos*, revolted to the Enemy with
a considerable Number of Forces under his
Command; and presently after this Treachery
of the Curians, the Chariots of War belonging
to *Salamis* follow'd their Example: By which
means the Persians obtain'd the Victory, and
the Cyprians were put to flight with great
Slaughter. Among others, *Oneilus* the Son
of *Chersis*, who had persuaded the Cyprians
to revolt, was kill'd in this Battle; toge-
ther with *Aristocypris* King of the Solians,
the Son of that *Philocypris*, who of all the
Princes of his Time is most commended in the
Verses of *Solon* the Athenian, which he made
during

during his Stay at *Cyprus*. The Amathusians cut off the Head of *Onesilus*, because he had besieg'd their City, and plac'd it over the Gates of *Amathus*: Where, after some time, when the Head was become empty, a swarm of Bees enter'd and fill'd the Skull with Honey. Upon which the Amathusians consulting the Oracle, were admonish'd, that if they would interr the Head, and sacrifice annually to *Onesilus*, as to a Hero, their Affairs should prosper. The Amathusians did accordingly, and continued those Sacrifices to my Time. The Ionians, who had fought by Sea on the Coast of *Cyprus*, hearing the Disaster of *Onesilus*, and that the rest of the Cyprian Cities were besieg'd, except *Salamis*, which the Salaminians had restor'd to their former King *Gorgus*, sail'd away to *Ionia*. Of all the Cities of *Cyprus*, *Soli* sustain'd the longest Siege: but in the fifth Month the Place was taken by the Persians; after they had undermin'd the Walls. And thus the Cyprians having been a free People during one Year, were again reduc'd into Servitude.

DAURISES, Hymees, and Otanes, whose Wives were Daughters to *Darius*, having together with other Persian Generals, pursued those Ionians who made War against *Sardis*, to their Ships, and afterwards defeated them in the Field, separated themselves, in order to destroy the Cities. *Daurises* directing his March towards those of the *Hellespont*, took *Dardanus*, *Abydus*, *Percote*, *Lampsacus*, and *Pesus*; employing no more than one Day in the Reduction of each. But advancing from *Pesus* towards *Parium*, he receiv'd a Message, importing, that the Carians

entertaining a Correspondence with the Ionians, had likewise revolted from the Persians. Upon this Advice he abandon'd the *Hellepont*, and led his Army against the Carians ; who being inform'd of his March, before his Arrival in their Territories, assembled their Forces at a Place call'd the *White Columns*, upon the River *Marsia*, which passes thro' the Country of *Hidrius*, and falls into the *Meander*. Divers Propositions were made in this Camp ; but none, in my Opinion, so good as that of *Pixedarus* the Son of *Mausolus*, a Cyndian, who had married the Daughter of *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*. He advis'd, that the Carians would pass the *Meander*, and fight the Persians on the other side ; that having the River in their Rear, and no Way left to retreat, they might be necessitated to keep their Ground, and surpass the common Valeur of Men. But the Carians rejecting his Proposition, resolv'd to let the Persians pass the *Meander* ; to the end that if they should be beaten, the River might be in the Way, and cut off their Retreat. So the Persians advancing pass'd the *Meander* ; and the Carians expecting the Enemy on the Banks of the River *Marsia*, fought a long and bloody Battle, till at last, oppress'd with Numbers, they were totally defeated. In this Action two Thousand Persians and ten Thousand Carians were kill'd. The rest of the Carians who escap'd out of the Fight, fled to *Labranda*, and betook themselves to a vast Grove, sacred to the military *Jupiter*, and fill'd with Plane-trees. They are the only People we know, who sacrifice to that Deity, under the Name of the God of Armies. When they had taken sanctu-
ary

ary in that Place, willing to make the best Provision they could for their own Safety, they consulted together, whether they should surrender themselves to the Persians, or entirely abandon *Asia*: And while they deliberated about this Affair, the Milesians with their Confederates came to their Assistance: Which so encourag'd the Carians, that they immediately chang'd their Design, and resolv'd to try the Fortune of War again. Accordingly they met the Persians and fought another Battle with more Obstinatey than the former; but in the end were put to flight, with great Slaughter; in which the Milesians suffer'd most. Yet after this Blow the Carians continued to carry on the War; and hearing that the Persians design'd to invade their Cities, plac'd an Ambuscade on the Way to *Dar-sus*; into which the Persians falling by Night, were cut in Pieces, with their Generals *Daurises*, *Amorges* and *Sisamaces*. *Myrses* the Son of *Gyges* was likewise involv'd in this Slaughter: And such was the End of these Persians. *Heracides* the Son of *Ibanolis*, a Mylasian, was the Author of this Enterprize.

HYMEE S, another of those who pursu'd the Ionians after the Expedition of *Sardis*, bending his March towards the *Propontis*, took the City of *Cius* in *Mygia*. But hearing that *Daurises* had quitted the *Helle-spont*, and was advancing against the Carians, he abandon'd the *Propontis*; and being arriv'd with his Army on the *Helle-spont*, subdued all the *Eolians* of the *ilian* Coast, together with the *Gergithes*, who were the only remaining People of the ancient *Teucrians*: And after the Conquest of these Nations died at *Troas*. In the mean time *Artaphernes*,

Governour of *Sardis*, and *Otanes*, who was one of the three Generals, being appointed to invade *Ionia*, with the confining Territories of the *Æolians*, possess'd themselves of *Clazomene*, belonging to the Ionians, and took *Cyme* from the *Æolians*. The News of which Disasters so discompos'd the Mind of *Aristagoras* the Milesian, who knew he had been the Disturber of *Ionia*, and Author of these great Confusions, that he began to consider how to make his Escape; since he evidently saw he could do nothing effectually against *Darius*. To that end he summon'd those of his Faction together; and having told them their common Safety requir'd, that care should be taken to secure a Place of Refuge, in case they should be expel'd from *Miletus*; he ask'd, whether he ought to conduct a Colony to *Sardinia*, or to the City of *Myrcinus*, built by *Histicus* in the Country of *Edone*, which he received from *Darius*. But *Hecataeus* the Historian, Son to *Hegeſander*, declar'd his Opinion against both these Propositions, and said, that if they should be compel'd to relinquish *Miletus*, they ought to build a City in the Island *Leris*, and there continue quiet, 'till they could safely return back again. This was the Counsel of *Hecataeus*. Nevertheless *Aristagoras* chusing rather to go to *Myrcinus*, left the Government of *Miletus* in the Hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent Citizen; and together with all those who were willing to accompany him, sail'd into *Thrace* and took Possession of the Region to which he was bound. But as he was besieging a Place situate beyond those Limits, he perish'd with his Army by the Hands of certain *Thracians*, who before had fier'd to surrender upon Terms.

THE

T H E

History of *Herodotus.*

BOOK VI.

E R A T O.

THUS died *Aristagoras*, who induc'd the Ionians to revolt: And *Histiæus* Tyrant of *Miletus*, having obtain'd Leave of *Darius*, went to *Sardis*; where when he arriv'd from *Susa*, *Artaphernes*, Governour of *Sardis*, ask'd his Opinion concerning the Cause of the Ionian Defection. *Histiæus* said, He could not imagine: And pretending to be ignorant of all that had pass'd, seem'd extremely surpriz'd at the Account he heard. But *Artaphernes* perceiving his Dissimulation, and being fully inform'd of the true Reason of the Revolt, reply'd, “ *Histiæus*, this Affair stands thus; Thou wast the Maker of that Shoe, which *Aristagoras* put upon his Foot.” By which Words *Histiæus* collecting that *Artaphernes* was well inform'd; and fearing the Consequences, went away the following Night towards the Sea, and deceiv'd *Darius*: For instead of reducing the great Island of *Sardinia*, according to his Promise, he took upon himself the Conduct of the Ionian War against the King. At his landing in *Chio* he was seiz'd by the *Chians*, upon Suspicion that he had some Design to execute there in favour of *Darius*. But when they understood the whole Truth;

Truth, and found he was an Enemy to the King, he set him at liberty again. During his Stay in that Place, being question'd by the Ionians to what end he had so earnestly press'd *Aristagoras* by Messages to revolt from *Darius*, and brought such Disasters upon *Ionia*; he conceal'd the true Reason, and told them, that the King had resolv'd to bring the Phœnicians into *Ionia*, and to transport the Ionians into *Phœnicia*. This, he said, was the Cause of his Message to *Aristagoras*: And thus he alarm'd the Ionians; tho' indeed *Darius* had never form'd any such Design. After these things, he gain'd one *Hermippus* an Atarnian, and sent him to *Sardis* with Letters to certain Persians he had discours'd with before concerning a Revolt. But *Hermippus* not delivering the Letters to the Persons to whom they were address'd, put them into the Hands of *Artaphernes*; who by this means perceiving what was doing, commanded the Messenger to deliver the Letters of *Histixus* according to his Instructions, and bring to him the Answers he should receive from the Persians. Thus *Artaphernes* having made a full Discovery, put many of the Persians to death, and caus'd a great Disorder in *Sardis*. *Histixus* disappointed of these Hopes, was conducted back to *Miletus* by the Chians at his own Request: But, the Milesians being pleas'd with their Deliverance from *Aristagoras*, and the Liberty they enjoy'd, would by no means receive another Tyrant into their Country. Upon which, endeavouring to enter the City by Night with an arm'd Force, he was wounded in the Shoulder by a Milesian, and after that Repulse return'd to *Chio*. But finding he could not persuade the Chians

Chians to entrust him with their Fleet, he pass'd over to *Mitylene*, and prevail'd with the Lesbians to furnish him with eight Ships; which they fitted out, and accompanied him to *Byzantium*. In this Station they took all the Ships that came out of the *Euxin*, except such as were willing to take part with *Histiæus*.

DURING the Course of these Actions done by *Histiæus* and the Mityleneans, the Enemy prepar'd to attack *Miletus* with a formidable Army, and a numerous Fleet. For the Persian Generals slighting the other Places, had drawn all their Troops together in order to that Attempt. Their maritim Forces consisted of the Phœnicians, Cilicians and Ægyptians, with the Cyprians, who had been lately subdued: But of all these, the Phœnicians shew'd the greatest Zeal to forward the Enterprize. When the Ionians heard of the Enemy's Preparations against *Miletus* and the rest of *Ionia*, they sent the principal Persons of their several Councils to the General Assembly; where being arriv'd, and consulting together, they unanimously resolv'd, that they would not bring together any Land Forces to oppose the Persians; but, whilst the Milesians should defend the City to the utmost of their Power, would arm and fit out all the Ships they had; and then repairing with all Expedition to *Lade*, a little Island near *Miletus*, engage the Enemy in a Sea Battle within View of the Milesians. In this Resolution the Ionians mann'd their Ships, and appearing at the Rendezvous in Conjunction with those Æolians who inhabit *Æolia*, drew their Fleet into the following Order. The Milesians with 80 Ships were rang'd

rang'd at the Head of the Line, stretching to the Eastward ; and next to these the Prienians with twelve Ships, and the Myusians with three ; followed by seventeen of the Teians, and a hundred Sail of Chians. The Centre was compos'd of the Erythræans in eight, the Phocæans in three, and the Lesbians in seventy Ships. The Samians alone with sixty Sail were plac'd in the Rear to the Westward. So that the whole Ionian Fleet consisted of three hundred fifty three Ships. And though the Barbarians arriv'd on the Milesian Coast with six hundred Ships, and all their Land Forces ; yet the Persian Generals hearing the Number of the Ionian Fleet, began to fear they should not obtain the Victory, nor be able to take *Miletus*, unless they could be Masters at Sea : And apprehending the Displeasure of *Darius*, if the Event should prove unsuccessful, summon'd together the Tyrants of *Ionia*, who having been expell'd by *Aristagoras* out of their Dominions, had fled to the Medes, and at that time accompanied the Enemy in the Expedition against the Milesians. To these Men, when they were met together, the Persians spoke in the following Terms ; "If any among you, O
" Ionians, are desirous to shew your Affection
" to the King's Service, this is the Time.
" Let every one of you endeavour to divide
" his own Subjects from the rest of the Con-
" federacy ; promising, in order to that End,
" that none shall suffer on account of their
" Rebellion ; that we will neither burn the
" Temples, nor their own private Houses ; and
" that they shall be as favourably treated as be-
" fore. But if they refuse this Offer, and re-
" solve

“ solve to determine the Dispute by the Sword,
“ acquaint them with the Evils which will in-
“ evitably ensue upon their Obsturacy: That,
“ after we have conquer'd, they shall be re-
“ duc'd to the Condition of Slaves: That we
“ will make Eunuchs of their Youth; transport
“ all their Virgins to *Baetria*, and give their
“ Country to another People.” When the
Persians had express'd themselves in this man-
ner, and Night was come, every one of the
Ionian Tyrants dispatch'd a Messenger to those
he had formerly commanded, with Instructions
to let them know what they were to expect.
But the Ionians, upon the Reception of these
Messages, despis'd their Menaces, and would
not be guilty of so great Treachery: For each
Nation was of opinion, that they alone were
solicited by the Enemy. Such were the Actions
of the Persians immediately after their Ar-
rival before *Miletus*.

THE Ionians having assembled their Fleet
near *Lade*, call'd a Council of War; in which,
after divers Propositions had been made, *Diony-
sius* General of the Phocæans spoke to this effect;
“ Our Affairs, O Ionians, are upon a Needle's
“ Point; we must either vindicate our Liberty
“ now, or be totally enslav'd and punish'd as
“ Fugitives. If you would submit to some
“ Hardships at this time, you may indeed be
“ uneasy for the present: But those Toils will
“ enable you to preserve your Freedom, and
“ overcome your Enemies. Whereas if you
“ abandon your selves to Effeminacy and Dis-
“ order, I despair to see you escape with Im-
“ punity out of the Hands of the King. Yet
“ could I persuade you to follow my Advice,
“ and

“ and permit me to regulate your Conduct,
“ I would undertake, unless the Gods inter-
“ pose, either that our Enemies will not fight
“ us at all, or if they do, that they shall be
“ beaten.” When the Ionians heard this, they
consented to put themselves under the Disci-
pline of *Dionysius*; who every day drawing the
Fleet into Order of Battle, commanded the
Squadrons frequently to change their Stations,
that he might accustom the Rowers to the La-
bour of the Oar; and oblig'd all the Soldiers
to wear their Armour. When they had per-
form'd his Orders, they lay at Anchor the re-
maining Part of the Day: And thus he exer-
cis'd the Ionians in the Fatigues of War. Se-
ven Days they continued to obey the Commands
of *Dionysius*: But being unacquainted with such
Hardships, and exhausted by daily Labour, and
the scorching Heat of the Sun, they began to
complain one to another in such Terms as these;
“ What Demon have we neglected, and now
“ pay so dear for our Contempt? Sensless
“ and depriv'd of Understanding, we have
“ surrend'red ourselves into the Hands of an
“ insolent Phocæan; who, though he brought
“ in no more than three Ships to the common
“ Defence, destroys us by intolerable Hard-
“ ships. Great Numbers of us are already
“ fallen into Distempers; and we may reason-
“ ably expect many more will soon be in the
“ same Condition. 'Twere better for us to suf-
“ fer any other thing, than the Pressures we
“ now lie under: Better, to expect a future Ser-
“ vitude, of what sort soever, than to draw
“ upon our own Heads the Addition of these
“ present Calamities. Let us take Courage then,
“ and

“ and no longer submit to his Commands.” This Discourse was so universal, that they unanimously refus'd to obey the Orders of *Dionysius*, and forming a Camp in the Island, sat under the Shade of their Tents, and would not return to perform their Exercise on board. The Generals of the Samians observing these things, and seeing great Disorders among the Ionians, accepted the Proposal they had receiv'd on the Part of the Persians, by a Message from *Æaces* the Son of *Syloson*, exhorting them to abandon the Confederacy: And being persua-
ded that the Ionians could not possibly prevail against the King, because they knew, if that Fleet of *Darius* should be destroy'd, he would send another five times as powerful; they embrac'd the Occasion; and perceiving the Io-
nians would not acquit themselves like Men, thought they should be Gainers, if they could preserve their Temples and private Hous-es from Destruction. This *Æaces*, who prevail'd with the Samians, was the Son of *Syloson*, the Son of another *Æaces*; and being Tyrant of *Samos*, had been depriv'd of his Dominions by *Aristagoras* the Milesian, as the rest of the Ionian Tyrants were. In this Disposition of things, the Phœnicians advanc'd with their Ships, and the Ionians came on likewise in Order of Battle: But I cannot affirm with certainty, who among the Ionians behav'd themselves well or ill, after the two Fleets were engag'd; because they mutually accuse one another. Yet they say, that the Samians, in pursuance of their Agreement with *Æaces*, immediately hoisting Sail went out of the Line, and return'd to *Samos*, eleven Ships only

only excepted, the Captains of which staid and fought, in disobedience to their Leaders ; and for this Action were rewarded at their Return by the Community of *Samos*, with an Inscription on a Pillar, declaring their Names and Families, in order to transmit their Memory to Posterity with Honour ; which Monument is still seen in the publick Place. When the Lesbians, who were in the next Station, saw that the Samians had betaken themselves to Flight, they follow'd their Example ; and most of the Ionians did the same. But among those who persisted in the Battle, the Chians, as they suffer'd the greatest Loss, so they gave the most signal Proofs of their Valour, and defended themselves to Extremity. They brought, as I said before, one Hundred Ships, each of which had fourty chosen Citizens on board ; and tho they saw that the greatest Part of the Confederates had abandon'd the common Cause, they would not be persuaded to imitate their Treachery : But chusing rather to remain with the few, they advanc'd and engag'd the Enemy : till at last, after they had taken many Ships, and lost more of their own, they fled away homewards with the rest. Those Chians, who had their Ships disabled in the Fight, being pursued by the Enemy, made the best of their Way to *Mycale* ; and having run their Ships a-ground on that Shoar, march'd by Land into the Country of *Ephesus*, and arriv'd near the City by Night, at a Time when the Women were celebrating the Rites of *Ceres*. The Ephesians altogether ignorant of what had befall'n the Chians, and seeing an arm'd Multitude within their Territories,

ries, thought they could be no other than Robbers, who had a Design upon the Women; and in that Opinion sallying out with the whole Force of the City, kill'd them all on the Spot: and this was the Fate of those Chians. In the mean time *Dionysius* the Phocæan, when he saw the Ionians totally defeated, abandon'd the Fight, and sail'd away with three Ships he had taken from the Enemy. But not at all doubting that *Phocæa* would be subdued with the rest of *Ionia*, instead of returning home, he went directly to *Phœnicia*; and after he had made Booty of many trading Ships on that Coast, sail'd away with immense Riches to *Sicily*: From whence he committed great Depredations upon the Carthaginians and Tuscans, yet always sparing the Grecians. The Persians on their part, having obtain'd this Victory over the Ionians, besieg'd *Miletus* both by Sea and Land; and after they had undermin'd the Walls, and employ'd all manner of military Engines in the Siege, took and destroy'd the City in the sixth Year after the Revolt of *Aristagoras*, and reduc'd the Inhabitants to Servitude, as the Oracle had foretold. For when the Argians consulted the Pythian touching the Fortune of their City, they receiv'd a double Answer; partly concerning themselves, and partly respecting the Milesians. That which was address'd to the Argians, we shall repeat in a proper Place; the other Part relating to the Milesians, was comprehended in the following Lines.

*Miletus, Source of Ill, thy Stores shall serve
To feast, and to enrich a Multitude.*

*Men with long Hair shall sit, and see their Feet
Hug'd by the Virgins ; Didyma shall see
Her Altars to another Place transferr'd.*

These things fell upon the Milesians at that Time : For the greater Part of the Men were kill'd by the Persians, who wear long Hair ; their Women and Children were made Slaves, and the Temple in *Didyma*, with the Grove and Oracle, were reduc'd to Ashes. The great Riches deposited in this Place, we have already mention'd on divers Occasions. All the Milesian Prisoners were conducted to *Susa* : From whence *Darius*, without any other ill Usage, sent them to inhabit the City of *Ampe*, situate near the Mouth of the *Tigris*, not far from the Place where that River falls into the Red-Sea. The Persians reserv'd to themselves the Lands that lie about *Miletus*, with all the level Country, and gave the Carians of *Pedieis* Possession of the Hills. In this Desolation, the Sybarites, who after their Expulsion, went to inhabit the Cities of *Laos* and *Scydrus*, requited not the former Kindness of the Milesians. For after the Crotonians had taken *Sybaris*, the Milesians shav'd the Heads of all their Youth, and gave publick Demonstrations of their Sorrow ; because these two Cities had been more strictly united in Friendship than any other. But the Athenians behav'd themselves in another manner, and many ways manifested the Sense they had of the Calamities of the Milesians ; particularly when *Phrynicus* had compos'd a Dramatic Poem concerning the Destruction of *Miletus*, the whole Theatre burst into Tears at the Representation ;

fin'd

fin'd him a thousand Drachma's for renewing the Memory of a Misfortune they took to be their own; and gave order that the Piece should never more appear in publick. In this manner the Milesians were ejected.

B U T the Samians who were of any Consideration, not approving what their Generals had done in favour of the Medes, assembled a Council after the Event of the Battle at Sea, and took a Resolution to relinquish their Country before the Arrival of their Tyrant *Æaces*; lest by continuing in *Samos*, they should become Slaves to him and the Medes. In that Conjunction the Zanclæans, a People of *Sicily*, being desirous to have a City inhabited by the Ionians, sent Messengers to *Ionia*, with Orders to solicit them to settle a Colony in that Part which faces the Tyrrhenian Sea, and is called the beautiful Coast. Upon this Invitation the Samians, and such Milesians as had escap'd by Flight, were the only Ionians who went thither. During their Voyage, and at the time of their landing in the Country of the Epizephyrian Locrians, the Zanclæans, with *Scythes* their King, were employ'd in the Siege of a Sicilian City; which *Anaxilaus*, Tyrant of *Rhegium* and an Enemy of the Zanclæans, understanding he insinuated to the Samians, that it would be more advantageous for them to seize the City of *Zancle* in the Absence of the Inhabitants, than to settle on the Coast design'd for their Establishment. The Samians soon persuaded to do as he advis'd; possess'd themselves of *Zancle* accordingly; which the Zanclæans hearing, hasten'd to recover their City, and call'd to their Assistance *Hippocrates*,

Tyrant of *Gela* their Ally. But *Hippocrates* arriving with his Army, caus'd *Scythes* King of *Zanclæ* to be seiz'd for abandoning the City, and banish'd him with his Brother *Pythogenes* to *Inycum*: After which, by an Agreement made with the Samians, and confirm'd on both sides with an Oath, he betray'd the rest of the Zanclæans, on Condition to have one half of the Slaves and Plunder of the City, besides all that should be found in the Country. Under colour of this Contract, *Hippocrates* took the greater Part of the Zanclæans, and treated them as Slaves, delivering three hundred of the principal Citizens to be put to death by the Samians; but they would not commit so cruel an Action. In conclusion, *Scythes* King of the Zanclæans made his Escape from *Inycum* to *Hymera*, and there imbarking, pass'd over into *Asia* to *Darius*, who thought him the most sincere of all the Grecians he had seen in his Court. For *Scythes*, after he had made a Voyage to *Sicily* with the King's Leave, return'd back again, and died among the Persians, very old and very rich. Thus the Samians at once escap'd the Yoke of the Medes, and without Pains made themselves Masters of *Zanclæ*, a great and beautiful City.

AFTER the Battle which was fought by Sea for the Possession of *Miletus*, the Phœnicians by Order of the Persians, conducted *Æaces* the Son of *Syloson* to *Samos*, in recompence of his Merits and Service. This was the only City of all those that revolted from *Darius*, which escap'd with its Houses and Temples undestroy'd; because the Samians had abandon'd their Allies in the Engagement at Sea. The Persians after the Reduction

Reduction of *Miletus*, soon possess'd themselves of *Caria*; partly by a voluntary Submission of the Inhabitants, and partly by Force.

WHILE *Histiæus* the Milesian continued about *Byzantium*, intercepting the trading Ships of the Ionians in their Passage from the *Euxin*, he receiv'd an Account of all that had pass'd at *Miletus*; and leaving the Care of his Affairs on the *Hellespont* to *Bisaltes* of *Abydus*, the Son of *Apollophanes*, he took the Lesbians with him, and sail'd to *Chio*: Where meeting with Opposition from a Guard which was posted in a deep and narrow Pass, he kill'd great Numbers on the Spot: And afterwards marching with the Lesbians from a small Town of the Island, subdued the rest of the Chians, considerably weaken'd by the preceding Fight at Sea. But because the great Desolations which are about to fall upon any City or Nation, seldom happen without some previous Signs, the Chians had divers very remarkable. For of one hundred Young Men they sent to *Delphi*, two only return'd home, after they had lost ninety-eight of their Companions by the Plague. And a little before the Battle at Sea, a House in the City falling upon the Heads of one hundred and twenty Boys, as they were learning to read, kill'd all that Number, except one. After these divine Admonitions, the Disaster of their Fleet ensued; which brought the City upon her Knees: And the Invasion of *Histiæus* with the Lesbians following upon this, and surprizing the Chians in that low Condition, finish'd the Catastrophe of the Island. From thence *Histiæus* with a numerous Army of Ionians and Æolians went to *Thasus*, and while he

was besieging that Place, receiv'd Information, that the Phœnicians had left *Miletus*, with a Design to invade the rest of *Ionia*. Upon which, breaking up from *Thasos*, he pass'd over to *Lade* with all his Forces; and from thence, because he found his Army under a Conſtraint, he sail'd again to *Atarnes*, under preſtence of collecting Provisions in that Country, and on the Plains of *Caucus* in *Myſia*. But *Harpagus*, a Persian General, being in those Parts with a conſiderable Army, fell upon him ſoon after his Landing, kill'd moſt of his Men upon the Place, and took *Histiæus* Prisoner in the following manner. Whilſt the Gre- cians made a long and vigorous Reſiſtance againſt the Persians at *Malene* in the Country of *Atarnes*, the Enemy's Cavalry came pour- ing in upon them with ſuch Fury, that they were forc'd to abandon the Field: Which *Histiæus* perceiving, and hoping the King would not put him to death for his Offence, he ſuf- fer'd himſelf to be taken Prisoner; too muſh deſiring to preſerve his Life. For as he fled, and was ready to fall into the Hands of a Per- fian, who had a Sword drawn to kill him, he in the Persian Language discover'd himſelf to be *Histiæus* the Milesian. And I am of opinion, that if he had been conducted alive to *Suſa*, *Darius* would have pardon'd his Fault, and giv'n him his Liberty. But leſt that ſhould hap- pen, and *Histiæus* escaping, ſhould again inſi- nuate himſelf into the King's Favour, *Artapher- nes* Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and *Harpagus*, whose Prisoner he was, order'd him to be crucify'd at his Arrival in that City, and ſent his Head em- balm'd to *Darius* at *Suſa*. When the King was inform'd

inform'd of this Action, he express'd his Discontent against the Authors, because they had not brought *Histians* alive to his Presence, and commanded his Head to be wash'd, and decently interr'd ; as the Remains of a Man, who had highly merited of himself and the Persians. Thus died *Histians*.

THE Persian Fleet, which winter'd at *Miletus*, easily subdued, in the following Year, *Chio*, *Lesbos* and *Tenedos*, Islands lying near the Continent ; and in every one of these, when the Barbarians had possess'd themselves of the Place, they hunted the Inhabitants into a sort of Net. For taking one another by the Hand, and forming a Line from the North to the South Side, they march'd over the Island, and drove all the People before them. They took the Ionian Cities on the Continent by the same Fleet, but attempted not to inclose the Inhabitants in the same manner ; because that was impossible. And after they had done this, the Persian Generals made good the menacing Messages they had sent to the Ionians, when the two Armies were in View. For upon the Reduction of the Ionian Cities, they made Eunuchs of the handsomest of the Youth ; sent the most beautiful Virgins to the King, and burnt the private Houses and Temples. Thus the Ionians were the third time conquer'd ; once by the Lydians, and twice afterwards by the Persians. This done, the Persian Fleet having already reduc'd the Places situate on the Right-hand of those who sail into the *Hellespont*, departed from *Ionia*, and subdued all the Countries that lie on the Left, and belong to *Europe*. Of this Number were the Helle-

spontin *Chersonesus*, containing many Cities *Perinthus*, *Selbris*, *Byzantium*, and divers wall'd Towns of *Thrace*. The Byzantians, with the Chalcedonians, who are situate beyond them, would not wait the coming of the Phœnician Fleet; but leaving their Habitations, and flying to the *Euxin*, built the City of *Mesembria* on that Sea. In the mean time the Phœnicians burnt the Places I have mention'd, and sailing to *Præcumnesus* and *Artace*, set fire to these likewise: After which they return'd to *Chersonesus*, in order to destroy all those Cities they had not ruin'd at their first landing. As for *Cyzicus*, they had not touch'd there; because the Cyzicenians were under the Obedience of the King before the Phœnician Expedition, having already capitulated with *Oebares* the Son of *Megabyzus*, Prefect of *Dascylum*. The rest of the Chersonesian Cities were subdu'd by the Phœnicians, except *Cardia*, which was then under the Dominion of *Miltiades* the Son of *Cimon*, and Grandson to *Stesagoras*, and had been formerly acquir'd by *Miltiades* the Son of *Cypselus* in the following manner. The Thracian Dolonces, antient Inhabitants of that Part of *Chersonesus*, having suffer'd much in a War against the Absynthians, sent their Kings to enquire of the Delphian Oracle concerning the Event; and were admonished by the Pythian, to desire the first Man, who after their Departure from the Temple should invite them to lodge in his House, to lead a Colony into their Country. Accordingly the Dolonces passing by the *Sacred Way* thro the Territories of the Phœcians and Bœotians, and receiving no Offer of Entertainment, turn'd into

into the Road of *Athens*. In that time *Pisistratus* had indeed the supreme Power ; but *Miltiades* the Son of *Cypselus* was not without Authority in *Athens* ; being of an illustrious Family, antiently descended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards establish'd among the Athenians by *Phileus* the Son of *Ajax*, the first of that Blood who settled there. This *Miltiades* sitting before his Gates, and seeing the Dolonces passing by, cloth'd and arm'd in a different manner from the Athenians, call'd out to them ; and upon their coming to him, desir'd they would be his Guests, and accept the Entertainment of his House. They accepted his Invitation ; and after they had been hospitably entertain'd, acquainted him with the Oracle, and requested him to act in conformity to the Admonition of the God. *Miltiades* hearken'd to their Proposition ; and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the Government of *Pisistratus*, and desir'd an Opportunity to withdraw. In these Sentiments he went to *Delphi* to consult the Oracle, whether he should yield to the Request of the Dolonces ; and receiv'd an encouraging Answer from the Pythian. Upon which *Miltiades* the Son of *Cypselus*, who had formerly been victorious in the Olympian Chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in his Expedition, set sail with the Dolonces ; and arriving in their Country, was invested with the sovereign Power. The first thing he did was, to build a Wall upon the Isthmus of *Chersonesus*, from the City of *Cardia* to that of *Pactya*, in order to prevent the Ab-synthians from infesting the Country for the

future with their Incursions. This Isthmus is thirty-six Stades in Breadth; and the whole Length of *Chersonesus*, beginning in that Place, is four hundred and twenty Stades. When *Miltiades* had built this Wall on the Neck of *Chersonesus*, and by that means excluded the Absynthians, he in the next place made War upon the Lampsacenians; and falling into an Ambuscade, was taken alive by the Enemy. But *Cræsus* the Lydian, having a great Esteem for him, and hearing this Event, dispatch'd a Messenger to *Lampsacus*, with Orders to demand the Liberty of *Miltiades*, and to threaten, if they refused to comply, that he would use them as Pines. The Lampsacenians differing in Opinion about the Meaning of the Menace sent by *Cræsus*, *That he would use them as Pines*, were not a little perplex'd at his Message. But so soon as one of their Senators, understanding the Sense of those Words, had acquainted them, that the Pine alone of all Trees perishes entirely upon cutting, without emitting any after-Shoots; the Lampsacenians dreading the Power of *Cræsus*, deliver'd *Miltiades*, and sent him home. Thus having escap'd by the means of *Cræsus*, and afterwards dying without Children, he left his Dominion and Riches to *Stesagoras* the Son of *Cimon*, his Brother by the same Mother. The Chersonesians honour him with Sacrifices, as the Founder of their City, in the accustomed manner, having instituted Gymnastic and Equestrian Exercises on that Occasion, in which no Lampsaceneian is permitted to contend for the Prize. During the War, which still continued against the People of *Lampsacus*; *Stesagoras* likewise died without

without Children ; being kill'd by the Blow of an Ax, he receiv'd on the Head from the Hand of one, who pretending to be a Deserter, was indeed a most cruel Enemy : After whose Death the Pisistratides sent *Miltiades*, the Son of *Cimon* and Brother of *Stesagoras*, to *Chersonesus* with one Ship, to take upon him the Government ; having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any Part in the Murder of his Father *Cimon* ; which I shall relate in another Place. Arriving in *Chersonesus*, he kept himself retir'd, under Colour of honouring the Memory of his Brother *Stesagoras* ; which the Chersonesians hearing, the principal Persons of every City assembled together ; and coming to his House with Intentions to condole with him, were all seiz'd and imprison'd. By this means *Miltiades* made himself Master of *Chersonesus* ; entertain'd five hundred Auxiliaries for his Guard, and married *Hegeſipyla*, Daughter to *Olorus* King of *Thrace*. But he had not been long in Possession before he met with greater Difficulties than he had yet experienc'd. For in the third Year of his Government he fled out of the Country, not daring to wait the coming of the Scythian Nomades, who having been irritated by the Expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their Forces, and advanc'd to the Frontier of *Chersonesus*. Nevertheless, upon the Departure of the Scythians, he was again restor'd by the Dolonces : And in the third Year after this, hearing that the Phœnicians were at *Tenedus*, he put all his Riches on board five Ships, and sail'd for *Athens*. But when he had pass'd the Coast of *Chersonesus*, in his Voyage from *Cardia*, and

and was sailing thro' the Bay of *Melane*, the Phœnician Fleet fell in with his Ships, and took one of the five, commanded by *Metiochus*, his eldest Son, tho' born of another Woman, and not of the Daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*; whilst he with the other four escap'd to *Imbrus*. The Phœnicians understanding that the Captain of the Ship they had taken, was the Son of *Miltiades*, conducted him to the King, in hope of meriting his Favour in a peculiar manner; because *Miltiades* had formerly endeavour'd to persuade the Ionian Generals to comply with the Scythians, when they were desir'd to break the Bridge and return home. But *Darius*, after the Phœnicians had put *Metiochus* the Son of *Miltiades* into his Hands, was so far from doing him any hurt, that on the contrary he conferr'd great Benefits upon him. For he presented him with a House and Lands, and gave him a Persian Wife, by whom he had Children of honourable Esteem among the Persians. In the mean time *Miltiades* arriv'd at *Athens* from *Imbrus*, and during that Year the Persians attempted nothing more against the Ionians: On the contrary, one thing was done very much to their advantage. For *Artaphernes* Governour of *Sardis*, having oblig'd the Enemies to send Deputies to him, compell'd the Ionians to enter into an Agreement to be mutually answerable for all future Injuries, and to desist from committing Depredations one upon another. After which he measur'd their Lands by Parasanges, (each containing thirty Stades) and settled the Tribute they should pay, in proportion to the Extent of their Territories. This Regulation establish'd by *Artaphernes*, being little

little different from that which they were under before, continued to be observ'd by the Inhabitants in our Time. And thus the Differences of the Ionians were compos'd.

IN the beginning of the next Spring, after the King had recall'd his Generals, *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobryas*, a young Man, who had newly married *Artozoftra* the Daughter of *Darius*, march'd down to the Coast, with numerous Forces to be employ'd both by Land and by Sea ; and embarking in *Cilicia*, set sail with the Fleet, while the other Generals led the Land Army to the *Hellespont*. When he had pass'd the Coast of *Asia*, and was arriv'd in *Ionia*, he did an Action which will seem incredible to those Grecians, who cannot believe that *Otanes* endeavour'd to persuade the seven Persians to establish a Democracy in *Persia*, as most advantageous to the Nation. For *Mardonius* depos'd all the Ionian Tyrants, and settled a popular Government in every City. After which he departed to the *Hellespont* ; and having there assembled a great Army, with a numerous Fleet, pass'd over that Sea into *Europe*, and turn'd his March towards *Eretria* and *Athens*. The Reduction of these Places was indeed the Pretext of their Enterprize ; but they really intended no less than to subdue all the Grecian Cities they could. For with their Fleet they reduc'd the Thasians without Resistance, and with their Land Forces added *Macedonia* to their former Conquests ; which they had carried to the Borders of that Country before this Expedition. From *Thasus* their Fleet stood over to the Continent, and coasted along the Shoar to *Acanthus* : But as they were endeavour-

endeavouring to double the Cape of Mount *Athos*, they were surpriz'd in a Storm of Wind, blowing from the North with such insupportable Violence, that more than one half of their Ships were driven ashore against the Mountain. The general Report is, that they lost by this Disaster three hundred Ships, and upwards of twenty thousand Men: Many of these being devour'd by monstrous marine Animals which abound in that Sea, many dash'd in pieces on the Rocks; while some, who could not swim, perish'd in the Water, and others died with Cold. In the mean time *Mardonius* incamping with his Army in *Macedonia*, was attack'd in the Night by the *Bryges*, a People of *Thrace*, who kill'd great Numbers of his Men, and wounded the General himself. Nevertheless they could not preserve themselves from falling under the Power of the Persians; but were subdued by *Mardonius* before he quitted those Parts: And then, considering the Loss he had receiv'd from the *Bryges*, and the greater Disaster of his Fleet at Mount *Athos*, he thought fit to retire, and accordingly repass'd into *Asia* with his Forces, after an unsuccessful Expedition.

IN the following Year, *Darius* being inform'd by the Neighbours of the *Thasians*, that they design'd to revolt, dispatch'd a Messenger to command them to demolish their Walls, and to send away their Ships to *Abdera*. For the *Thasians*, who had been besieg'd by *Histiæus* the *Milesian*, and wanted not considerable Revenues, applied their Riches to the building of Ships, and fortifying their City with a stronger Wall. Their Revenues arose partly from the Conti-

ncnt,

nent, and partly from their Mines: those of *Scapte*, which were of Gold, producing to the Value of eighty Talents yearly; and those of *Thasus* something less; yet in such a Quantity, that having their Lands free, the Thasians usually receiv'd in all two hundred Talents yearly from the Continent and from the Mines; and sometimes, in the best Years, three hundred. I myself have seen all these Mines: Of which the most memorable are those found by the Phœnicians, who accompanied *Thasus*, when he settled in this Island, and gave his Name to the Country. These Phœnician Mines are situate between the Enyrians and Cenyrians of *Thasus*; where a great Mountain, which fronted *Samothracia*, has been overthrown by the Miners in Search of the Oar.

THE Thasians in obedience to the King demolish'd their Walls, and sent away all their Ships to *Abdera*. After which *Darius* resolving to try whether the Grecians would submit, or make War against him, sent his Heralds into divers Parts of *Greece*, to demand Earth and Water in his Name: And when he had done this, dispatch'd other Messengers to the tributary Cities on the Coast, with Orders to build large Ships, and Vessels of Transportation for Horse. Whilst these Preparations were carried on, many People of the Continent made their Submission to the Persian in the Manner requir'd by his Heralds: And all the Islanders in general complying with their Demand, deliver'd the usual Present of Earth and Water in Testimony of Obedience. When the Athenians heard these things, and that the People of *Ægina* had done like the rest, they suspected these last had wil-

lingly embrac'd this Occasion of joining with the Persians, in order to make War against *Athens*; and readily taking the Opportunity, sent to *Sparta*, and accus'd the *Æginetæ*, as the Betrayers of *Greece*. Upon this Complaint *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, at that time King of *Sparta*, pass'd over to *Ægina*, with intention to seize the principal Persons concern'd in that Action; and endeavouring to put his Design in execution, met with Opposition from many of the *Æginetæ*; but chiefly from *Crius* the Son of *Polycritus*, who told him plainly, that he should not carry off any one of the Inhabitants with Impunity; that he came to make this Attempt without the Consent of the Spartans, corrupted by Athenian Money; and that if things had not been so, the other King of *Sparta* would have accompanied him on this Occasion. Which Words were spoken by *Crius* upon a private Message he had receiv'd from *Demaratus*. When *Cleomenes* was ready to depart, he ask'd *Crius* his Name,

* This Word in the Greek signifies a Ram.

and after *Crius* had inform'd him, said, “* *Crius*, you would do well to point your Horns with Brass; for you have a formidable Enemy to encounter.” *Demaratus* the Son of *Ariston* was likewise King of *Sparta* at the same time with *Cleomenes*; and staying at home, aspers'd the Conduct of his Colleague. He was indeed of the younger Branch; but as they were both descended from the same Stock, their Nobility was equal; except only, that the Family of *Eurythenes*, being the elder, was more respected. The Lacedemonians differing from all the Poets, affirm, That they were not conducted

ducted into the Region they now possess, by the Sons of *Aristodemus*; but by their King *Aristodemus* himself, who was the Son of *Aristonachus*, Grandson of *Cleodæus*, and Great-grandson to *Hyllus*: That in a little time after their arrival, *Argiva* the Wife of *Aristodemus*, and Daughter, as they say, to *Autesion* the Son of *Tisamenes*, whose Father was *Thersander* the Son of *Polynices*, brought him two Male Children at a Birth; whom he had no sooner seen than he died by Sickness: That the Lacedemonians, according to the Custom they observ'd in that Age, determining to receive the eldest for their King, and not knowing which to chuse, because they were in every thing alike, went to examine the Mother touching the Birth of the Children: That she, either really ignorant, or, which is more probable, dissembling the Knowledge she had, out of a great Desire to see both her Sons created Kings, denied she knew any thing of the Primogeniture: That the Lacedemonians continuing still in doubt, sent to inquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, what Resolution they should take; and that the Pythian exhorted them to receive both for their Kings, but to pay the greatest Honours to the eldest: That after this Answer they were in no less perplexity than before; till one *Panites* a Messenian advis'd the Lacedemonians to observe which of the two Children the Mother would first wash and feed; assuring them, that if she was constant to the same Method, they might be certain of the thing they so much desir'd to know; but if she should vary in her manner, and apply her Care indifferently to both, they ought to believe she

knew nothing of the Matter in question, and endeavour to find out some other Expedient: That the Spartans, in pursuance of his Advice, having diligently observ'd the Mother, who had no Suspicion of their Design; and imagining they perceiv'd her to give the Priority to one of the Sons of *Aristodemus*, rather than to the other, they took him as the Eldest; educated him at the Expence of the Publick; nam'd him *Eurythenes*, and gave the Name of *Procles* to the Younger: That these two Brothers, after they had attain'd the Age of Men, could never agree during all the time of their Lives; and that this Animosity became hereditary in their Descendants. The Lacedemonians are the only People of *Greece* who report these things: But I must not omit to mention what the rest of the Grecians say on this Subject. They affirm then, That all the Dorian Kings from *Perseus* the Son of *Jupiter* by *Danae*, are rightly computed by the Grecians, and were accounted Grecians in those Times. I say, from *Perseus*, and go no higher; because he had no Surname deriv'd from a mortal Father, as *Hercules* had from *Amphytrion*: And therefore I may with reason forbear to look backward farther than *Perseus*. But if we trace the Genealogy of *Danae* the Daughter of *Acrisius*, and enumerate their Ancestors of the Male Line, we shall find that the Leaders of the Dorians were originally Natives of *Egypt*: And this is the Account given by the Grecians. Nevertheless, the receiv'd Opinion among the Persians is, that *Perseus* being an Assyrian by Birth, became a Grecian by settling in *Greece*, which none of his Ancestors had everdone. For the

the Ancestors of *Acrisius* were no way related to *Perseus*, but were Ægyptians, as the Grecians themselves own. And this I think sufficient to say concerning these things; forbearing to mention in what manner they who were Ægyptians, accepted the Offer of the Dorian Kingdom; because others have related that Transaction; and contenting myself with giving an Account of such Particulars as I find to have been omitted by them. The Spartans conferr'd these Honours upon their Kings. In the first place, That they should enjoy the Priesthood, both of the Lacedemonian and the Olympian *Jupiter*: That they might make War in any Region at their pleasure; and that no Spartan should hinder them from so doing, under Penalty of incurring the Guilt of Impiety: That in all Expeditions they should lead the Van, and bring up the Rear in their Return: That in the Field they should have a hundred chosen Men for their Guard: That they might sacrifice what kind of Cattle they should think fit before they began their March, and that the Skins with the Chine should belong to them. These Advantages they have in times of War: and in peaceable times those that follow. In the Celebration of all publick Sacrifices, the Kings sit first down to the Feast, are first serv'd, and receive a double Allowance of whatever is given to the rest of the Company. They have the first Potion at the Libation, and the Skins of the Victims. Every New Moon, and Seventh Day of every Month, a whole Victim is presented to each of them in the Temple of *Apollo* at the publick Charge; accompanied with a Measure of Flour, and the

fourth Part of a Laconian Vessel of Wine. They have the principal Places at all publick Spectacles; and may appoint such Citizens as they please, to receive and entertain Strangers. Each of these Kings have the Privilege of electing two Pythians; who are to be sent upon occasion to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, and have their Provision with the Kings at the publick Charge. When the Kings are not present at Supper, two Measures of Flower, with a Flaggon of Wine, are sent home to each: But when they are present, they receive a double Portion of every thing. And if they are invited to eat with private Persons, they are treated with the same Honours. They have the keeping of all Prophecies, which they are oblig'd to communicate to the Pythians. But the Kings alone have the Direction of the following Affairs. They have the Power of determining who ought to marry those Heiresses, who have not been contracted during the Lives of their Fathers. They have the Care of the publick Highways: And if any Man desires to adopt a Son, he is oblig'd to perform that Act before the Kings. They may be present, whenever they please, in the Assembly of the Senate, which consists of twenty eight Senators: And if they are absent, two of those Senators who are most trusted by the Kings, enjoy their Privileges, and have two Ballots besides their own. These Advantages are conferr'd by the Republick of *Sparta* upon their Kings while they live; those which follow, when they are dead. Horsemen are dispatch'd thro all *Laconia* to notify their Death: Women are appointed to march thro every Part of the City, beating upon Kettles;

Kettles ; during which time one Man and one Woman, both free-born, are oblig'd under great Penalties, to appear out of every House with all the Marks of Mourning and Lamentation. To be short, the Lacedemonians celebrate the Funerals of their Kings in the same manner as is practised by the Barbarians of *Asia* ; who, for the most part, vary nothing from the Spartans in the performance of these Ceremonies. For upon the Death of a Lacedemonian King, certain Numbers of the Inhabitants of the Country are oblig'd to attend the Funeral with open Breasts, those of the City being singly exempted : And when many Thousands of these are met together, with the Helotes, and even Spartans both Men and Women, they courageously cut themselves on the Forehead, and with incessant Howlings cry out, that the last King was the best they ever had. If one of their Kings die in War, his Effigy is prepar'd, and expos'd to publick View, plac'd on a Bed of State. When they bury him, all Business ceases for ten Days ; the Courts are not assembled, and the Mourning continues during that time. Their Customs are farther conformable to those of the Persians ; in that, when a King dies, and the Successor enters upon the Administration, he remits whatever Debts may be due from any Spartan to the King or the Publick ; as the King of *Persia* at his Accession to the Throne discharges all the Cities from the Arrears of Tribute due to his Predecessor. In other things the Lacedemonians resemble the Ægyptians in their Manners. For every Herald, Musician, and Cook, takes upon him the Profession

fession of his Father : So that a Musician begets a Musician ; one Cook begets another ; and the Son of a Herald is always of the same Profession, no Man endeavouring to supplant him by shewing he has a clearer Voice ; but on the contrary every one continues to exercise his Father's Art. And such is the Account of these things.

WHILST *Cleomenes* continued at *Ægina*, endeavouring to promote the common Cause of *Greece*, *Demaratus* accus'd him at home ; not so much out of Kindness to the *Æginetes*, as from Motives of Envy and Hatred. But *Cleomenes*, upon his Return, consulting in what manner he might deprive *Demaratus* of the Kingdom, took this Pretext to colour his Design. When *Ariston* reign'd in *Sparta*, he married two Wives, and had no Child by either ; but not acknowledging any Defect in himself, he married a third in this manner. He had a Friend, who was a Spartan, and more entrusted by him than any other Citizen. The Wife of this Man was the most beautiful Woman of all *Sparta*, tho' she had formerly been exceedingly deform'd. But her Nurse perceiving her Deformity, and knowing her to be the Daughter of eminent Persons, and that her Parents were sensibly afflicted with the Misfortune, determined to carry her every day to the Temple of *Helena*, which is built in *Therapne*, above the Temple of *Apollo*. Hither she daily brought the Child, and standing before the Image of the Goddess, pray'd she might no longer continue in that Deformity. The common Report is, that as the Nurse was one day going out of the Temple, a Woman appear'd

pear'd to her, and ask'd what she had in her Arms: that the Nurse answer'd, she carried an Infant; which when the Woman desir'd to see, the Nurse refus'd to comply, because the Parents had commanded her to shew the Child to none: that upon this Refusal the Woman expressing a greater Desire to see the Infant, prevail'd at last upon the Nurse to grant her Request; and stroaking the Head of the Child with her Hands, said she should become the most beautiful Woman of *Sparta*; and from that Day her Deformity began to diminish. When she had attain'd to a convenient Age, she was married to *Agetus* the Son of *Alcides*, and Confident of *Ariston*. Pleas'd with the Beauty of this Woman, *Ariston* contriv'd the following Design. He acquainted *Agetus*, who was her Husband and his familiar Friend, that he would make him a Present of any one thing he should chuse out of all his Possessions, on Condition he would oblige himself to do the like to him. *Agetus* not suspecting any Design upon his Wife, because he knew *Ariston* had one already, accepted the Proposal; and an Oath for mutual Performance was sworn on both sides. Accordingly *Ariston* gave him the thing he chose out of all his Treasures; and then pretending to the same Compliance from *Agetus*, demanded his Wife. *Agetus* acknowledg'd all other things to have been included in the Agreement, but thought that his Wife had been excepted. Nevertheless finding himself under the Obligation of an Oath, and deceiv'd by the Artifice of the King, he permitted him to take her away. In this manner *Ariston* married a third Wife, and at the same

time divorc'd his second. But before the usual Term was expir'd, and the ten Months elaps'd, *Demaratus* was born of this Woman: And when one of his Servants came to tell him as he sat with the Ephori, that he brought him the News of a Son; *Ariston* not forgetting the time of his Marriage, but counting the Months upon his Fingers, said with an Oath in presence of the Ephori, *This Child is not mine.* The Ephori seem'd at that time to make no account of those Words: But when the Boy grew up, *Ariston* repented of what he had said, being then fully persuaded that *Demaratus* was his Son. He gave him the Name of *Demaratus*, because before his Birth the Spartans had made publick Supplications, that *Ariston*, whom they esteem'd the most illustrious of all the Kings they ever had, might have a Son. After some time *Ariston* died, and *Demaratus* obtain'd the Kingdoin. But the Fates seem'd to have determin'd that the Words of the Father should deprive the Son of his Authority: and therefore as he had formerly been accus'd by *Cleomenes* for leading away the Army from *Eleusis*; so he was now again for procuring *Cleomenes* to be recall'd from his Expedition against the *Æginetes*, who were in the Interest of the Medes. When *Cleomenes* had thus begun to take his Revenge, he enter'd into an Agreement with *Leutychides* the Son of *Menaris* and Grandson of *Agis*, a Person of the same Family with *Demaratus*; under this Condition, that if he should make him King in the place of *Demaratus*, *Leutychides* should accompany him in an Expedition against the *Æginetes*. *Leutychides* was an Enemy of *Demaratus*, chiefly for this Reason. He had

had been upon the point of marrying *Percalum*, the Daughter of *Chilon* the Son of *Demarmenes*; when *Demaratus* by an insidious Contrivance disappointed him of his Bride, and having possess'd himself of the Woman by Violence, retain'd her for his Wife. On this account *Leutychides* became his Enemy, and at the Instigation of *Cleomenes*, swore *Demaratus* had no Right to be King of *Sparta*, because he was not the Son of *Ariston*; confirming his Assertion with the Words spoken by *Ariston*, when upon the Message he receiv'd concerning the Birth of his Son, and the Computation he made of the time elaps'd after his Marriage, he affirm'd with an Oath, that the Child was not his. Insisting upon the Authority of these Words, *Leutychides* openly maintain'd, that *Demaratus* was neither the Son of *Ariston*, nor rightful King of *Sparta*; and for the Truth of his Assertion appeal'd to the Ephori, who then sat by the King, and heard him pronounce the Words in question. Thus the Matter being drawn into Dispute, the Spartans determin'd to enquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, whether *Demaratus* were the Son of *Ariston* or not. But before this Resolution was divulg'd, *Cleomenes* with a timely Foresight took care to pre-engage one *Cobon* the Son of *Aristophantus*; who being a Person of great Authority in *Delphi*, prevail'd with *Perialla* the Arch-Priestess to give such an Answer as *Cleomenes* desir'd. So that when the Spartans came to consult the Oracle, the Pythian pronounc'd *Demaratus* not to be the Son of *Ariston*: Which Collusion being afterwards discover'd, *Cobon* fled from *Delphi*, and *Perialla* was depriv'd of her Dignity. By this

this means *Demaratus* was depos'd, and in conclusion betook himself to the Medes on account of an Affront he receiv'd. For after his Deposition, being chosen into the Magistracy, as he was one Day present at the Gymnastick Exercises of the Youth, *Lentychides* who had been appointed King in his room, sent a Messenger to ask him in Derision, " What he thought of being an inferior Magistrate after he had been a King." *Demaratus* disturb'd with the Insolence of his Message, answer'd, " That he indeed had experienced both, but *Lentychides* had not; " and added, That this Question should be " the Cause either of innumerable Calamities, " or great Prosperity to the Lacedemonian's." When he had said these Words, and cover'd his Face, he went out of the Theatre to his House, where he sacrific'd an Ox to *Jupiter*; and sending for his Mother to the Oblation, put the Entrals of the Victim into her Hands, and spoke to her in these pathetick Terms: " Mother, I adjure you by all the Gods, and " by *Jupiter*, the Deity of our House, to tell me " the Truth, and let me know plainly who was " my Father. For in these late Contests *Lentychides* affirm'd, that you were with child by " your former Husband before you became the " Wife of *Ariston*: Others with more Impudence say, you had the Company of one " who kept the Asses, and that I am the Son of " that Wretch: I adjure you therefore by the " Gods to inform me of the Truth. For if you " have done as they say, you are not singly guilty; others have done the like. Besides, many of the Spartans are persuad-

“ ded that *Ariston* was uncapable of begetting
“ Children : Otherwise, they say, his for-
“ mer Wives had not been unfruitful.” When
Demaratus had thus spoken, his Mother an-
swer’d him in this manner : “ Son, because
“ you so earnestly desire me to speak the
“ Truth, I shall conceal nothing from you.
“ The third Night after *Ariston* had conducted
“ me home to his House, a Phantom entire-
“ ly like him in Shape, enter’d my Chamber,
“ and having lain with me, put a Crown on
“ my Head, and went out again. *Ariston*
“ himself soon after came in, and seeing the
“ Crown on my Head, ask’d, Who had made
“ me that Present. I answer’d, He himself :
“ But perceiving he would not own the thing,
“ I added an Oath to my Assertion, and told
“ him he did not well to deny what he had
“ done, having been so lately in my Cham-
“ ber, and giving me the Crown after he had
“ lain with me. When *Ariston* heard me swear
“ with such Assurance, he presently concluded
“ that something divine had been with me.
“ And indeed, not only the Crown was found
“ to have been taken from the Monument of
“ the Hero *Astrobacus*, which stands by the
“ Gates of the Palace, but the Prophets like-
“ wise affirm’d, That the Hero himself had
“ brought it. This, my Son, is the whole
“ Truth, which you so much desir’d to know :
“ And therefore either the Hero *Astrobacus*, or
“ else *Ariston* was your Father : For I conceiv’d
“ you in that Night. And as to that Reproach
“ which your Enemies endeavour chiefly to
“ fasten upon you, by affirming that *Ariston*
“ himself, when he receiv’d the News of your
“ Birth,

“ Birth, said in the presence of many Persons, “ that you could not be his Son ; those Words “ were thrown out by him for want of suffi- “ cient Information concerning such matters. “ For Women are not always accustom’d to “ bear their Children ten Months : But some “ are deliver’d in nine, and others even in se- “ ven. You, my Son, was born within the “ Space of seven Months ; and *Ariston* himself “ was in a little time convinc’d, that those “ Words were the Effect of his Ignorance. “ Believe nothing therefore in Derogation of “ your Birth ; for I have told you all the Truth “ with Sincerity. And if *Leutychides* or any “ other has calumniated us with the Fable of “ the Keeper of our Asses, may their Wives “ bring them Children so begotten.” *Demara-*
tus having thus satisfied himself concerning the matter he desir’d to know, prepar’d all things necessary for his Voyage, and departed to *Elis* ; pretending he design’d to go to *Delphi*, in order to consult the Oracle. But the Lacede-
monians suspecting that he intended to make his Escape, follow’d him to *Elis* ; and finding he had already pass’d over to *Zacynthus*, they pursued him thither, and seiz’d him with his Attendants. Yet they could not obtain their Ends ; because the *Zacynthians* refus’d to deli-
ver him up ; and by that means he made his E-
scape into *Asia*, where *Darius* receiv’d him ho-
nourably, and presented him with Lands and Ci-
ties. Thus *Demaratus* went away to *Asia*, unfor-
tunately disgrac’d, after he had been famous a-
mong the Spartans both in Counsel and Action, and crown’d at the Olympian Exercises, for the Victory he obtain’d in the Chariot-Race ; which

which had never happen'd before to any King of *Sparta*. *Leutychides* the Son of *Menaris*, created King in the place of *Demaratus*, had a Son named *Zeuxidamus*, who by some of the Spartans is call'd *Cyniscus*. This *Zeuxidamus* was never King of *Sparta*; for he died before his Father, leaving behind him a Son named *Archidamus*. *Leutychides*, after the Death of his Son, took for his second Wife *Eurydame* the Sister of *Menius*, and Daughter to *Diaetoris*, who brought him no Male Child, and only one Daughter nam'd *Lampito*, whom he gave in Marriage to *Archidamus* the Son of *Zeuxidamus*. Nevertheless, *Leutychides* could not continue in *Sparta* to the end of his Life; but by his own Crime made some kind of Reparation to *Demaratus*. For while he was making War in *Thessaly* at the Head of the Lacedemonian Army, and might easily have conquer'd all the Country, he suffer'd himself to be corrupted with Money; and was surpriz'd in the very Act of carrying away Silver in both his hands. On this account being summon'd to appear in the Court of Justice, he fled from *Sparta*; his House was demolish'd, and having made his Escape to *Tegea*, he ended his Life in that City.

CLEOMENES having successfully accomplish'd his Design against *Demaratus*, and being highly incens'd against the *Aeginetes* for the Affront he had receiv'd, oblig'd *Leutychides* to accompany him in his Expedition to *Aegina*; and finding no Opposition from the *Aeginetes*, who would not resist both the Kings united against them, they took ten of the most eminent Citizens in Birth, Riches and Dignity,

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(among

(among them *Crius* the Son of *Polycritus*, and *Casambus* the Son of *Aristocrates*, who had the principal Authority) carried them away Prisoners to *Attica*, and put them into the Hands of the Athenians their greatest Enemies. After this Expedition, *Cleomenes* growing jealous of the Spartans because they had discover'd his fraudulent Practices against *Demaratus*, fled away privately to *Thessaly*; and from thence passing into *Arcadia*, began to form new Designs, soliciting the Arcadians to make War upon *Sparta*, and engaging them by an Oath to follow him to what Part soever he would lead them. He likewise endeavour'd to persuade the principal Inhabitants to accompany him to *Nanacris*, a City of *Arcadia*, not far from *Pheneos*, in order to swear by the Stygian Waters, which, the Arcadians say, are found in that Place. And indeed there is a Spring distilling slowly from a Rock into a Basin inclos'd with a Wall. When the Lacedemonians were inform'd of these Intrigues of *Cleomenes*, they fear'd the Event, and recalling him to *Sparta*, restor'd him to his former Dignity. But he was no sooner return'd, than he fell into a Frenzy, of which he had felt some Attacks before; striking the Spartans without Distinction, when they came near him, with his Sceptre, on the Face. His Relations seeing these outrageous Actions, and perceiving him to be depriv'd of his Understanding, resolv'd to fetter him. But when he found himself treated in this manner, and saw only one of his Keepers with him, he demanded his Sword. The Keeper at first refused to obey; yet after *Cleomenes* had threaten'd to punish him for his Disobedience, dreading the Effect of his

Menaces, because he was one of his Helots, he gave him his Sword: Which *Cleomenes* taking into his Hand, began to cut his Flesh from the Ankle upward, and made long Incisions reaching to his Thigh: Then proceeding by the Hip and Groin, he arriv'd at his Belly, which he ripp'd up, and died in this manner. Most of the Grecians say, he was thus punish'd for suborning the Pythian to frame the Answer she gave concerning *Demaratus*: The Athenians alone pretend, that his Invasion of *Eleusis*, where he pillag'd the Temples of the Gods, drew these Disasters upon him: And the Argians affirm that he came to this miserable End, because he had violated the Temple of *Argos*, by cutting in pieces these Argians who took Sanctuary there after the Battle; and burnt down the sacred Grove in Contempt. For when *Cleomenes* consulted the Oracle of *Delphi*, the Answer he receiv'd was, that he should take *Argos*. Upon this Assurance marching at the Head of the Spartans he arriv'd at the River *Erasinus*, which, as they say, begins at the Stymphalian Lake, and passing thro a subterraneous Cavity of the Earth, rises again in *Argos*, and on that account by the Argians is called *Erasinus*. *Cleomenes* upon his Arrival sacrific'd to the God of the River: But finding the Entrals of the Victim without any Marks of a successful Passage, he said, that tho he could not be displeas'd with *Erasinus* because he would not betray his own People, yet the Argians should have no cause to rejoice. Decamping therefore with his Army, he march'd to *Thyrea*; where, after he had sacrific'd a Bull to the Sea, he imbarke'd, and transported all his Forces

Forces to the Country about *Tiryns* and *Nauplia*. The Argians hearing of their Arrival, march'd out towards the Sea, and being advanc'd near the City of *Tiryns*, to a Place call'd *Sipea*, they incamp'd in view of the Lacedemonians, leaving only a small Interval between the two Armies. They were not afraid of coming to a fair Battle, but of being surpriz'd by Fraud and Stratagem ; because the Oracle, they and the Milesians had jointly receiv'd from the Pythian, seem'd to predict such an Event. The Words were these :

*When in the Streets of Argos Female Pride
Shall be exalted, and the Male expel ;
Then shall the Argian Dames so sadly mourn,
That every one who passes by may say,
Kill'd by a Spear the deadly Serpent lies.*

All these things happening together, struck the Argians with great Terror ; so that they resolv'd to govern their Actions by the Signals of the Enemy ; and accordingly when any thing was signified to the Lacedemonians, they took the same for a Signal to themselves. *Cleomenes* being inform'd that the Argians regulated their Actions by the Signals they heard from his Camp, gave order to the Spartans, that instead of going to Dinner upon the usual Signal, they should betake themselves to their Arms, and march out against the Argians. The Lacedemonians executed his Order, and falling upon the Argians at the time of their Dinner, kill'd many on the Spot ; and having driven a far greater Number into the Grove, surrounded them there. After which *Cleomenes* having receiv'd

ceiv'd full Information by Deserters concerning their Persons, sent a Herald to summon by Name all the Argians who had taken Sanctuary in the sacred Ground, to come out and pay their Ransom; which in *Peloponesus* is fix'd at two Mines of Silver for every Man. Upon this Summons fifty of the Argians coming out one after another, *Cleomenes* caus'd them to be put to death; whilst those who still continued within, could not see the Slaughter, by reason of the Thickness of the Grove: till at last one of the Besieg'd getting up into a Tree, discover'd the Treachery, and prevented the rest from obeying his Summons. *Cleomenes* seeing this, commanded all the Helots to surround the Grove with combustible Materials; and after they had executed his Orders, he set fire to the Place. When all was in a Flame, he ask'd one of the Fugitives, to what God that Grove was consecrated; and being told to *Argos*, *Cleomenes*, with a deep Sigh, said, "O *Apollo*! O Prophet! how hast thou deluded me, by promising that I should take *Argos*? Now I know thy Prophecy is accomplish'd." After some time *Cleomenes* sent home the greater Part of his Army to *Sparta*, and retaining a thousand chosen Men with him, went to the Temple of *Juno*, in order to sacrifice on her Altar. But the Priest forbidding him to proceed, told him, that no stranger might sacrifice in that Temple: Which Refusal *Cleomenes* taking in disdain, commanded his Helots to drag the Priest from the Altar and beat him. In the mean time he himself sacrific'd; and when he had perform'd his Devotions, went away to *Sparta*. At his Return

he was summon'd to appear before the Ephori by his Enemies, who accus'd him of Corruption; and affirm'd that in Consideration of Money receiv'd, he had neglected the Conquest of *Argos*, which he might easily have accomplish'd. I know not whether the Answer of *Cleomenes* were true or false: But however, his Answer was, that he thought the Oracle fulfill'd when he had taken the Temple of *Argos*, and therefore resolv'd not to attempt the City, before he had inquir'd whether Heaven would favour or obstruct his Enterprize; and that whilst he was sacrificing in the Temple of *Juno*, he saw a Flame issuing from the Breast of the Image; which he understood to be a Sign that he should not take the City of *Argos*: For, said he, if the Fire had proceeded from the Head, I should have thought the Place might have been taken by attacking the Castle; but perceiving it issuing out of the Breast, I concluded that the Goddess would not permit more to be done. These Reasons seem'd probable to the Spartans, and *Cleomenes* was acquitted by a great Majority. In the mean time *Argos* was so exhausted of Men by the Defeat of the Argians, that their Servants took upon them the Administration of Affairs, and exercis'd all the Magistracies; but when the Sons of those, who had been kill'd, grew up, they asserted their Right, and ejected them out of the City. These Servants after their Expulsion took *Tiryns* by Assault, and continued there in peaceable Possession, till they were persuaded by one *Cleander*, an Arcadian Prophet of Phigasean Extraction, to attack their Masters; and entering into a long War, were at last subdued

dued by the Argians, tho not without great Difficulty.

TO the Guilt of these Actions the Argians attribute the Madness and Death of *Cleomenes*: But the Spartans deny that he was punish'd with Distraction by any superior Power; and affirm that his Folly proceeded only from an intemperate Abuse of Wine, which he had learnt by conversing with the Scythians. For the Nomades of *Scythia*, whose Country *Darius* had invaded, being desirous to revenge that Injury, sent Ambassadors to conclude an Alliance with the Spartans on these Terms: That the Scythians should endeavour to make an Irruption into *Media* by the River *Phasis*: That the Spartans should enter the Persian Dominions by the way of *Ephesus*; and that both Armies should meet and join together at a certain place appointed to that end. They say, that by conversing too much with these Scythians *Cleomenes* contracted a Habit of Intemperance; that his Madness was deriv'd from this Cause, and that the Phrase of playing the Scythian, by which Men understand drinking Wine too liberally, was introduc'd on this occasion. These things are said by the Spartans concerning *Cleomenes*: But I am of opinion that he punish'd himself for the Wrong he had done to *Demaratus*.

WHEN the *Æginetes* were inform'd of the Death of *Cleomenes*, they sent Ambassadors to *Sparta* with loud Complaints against *Leutychides* on account of the Hostages detain'd at *Athens*: And the Lacedemonians having summon'd an Assembly to deliberate concerning the matter, resolv'd that the *Æginetes* had been treated

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with Indignity by *Leutychides*, and therefore determin'd that he should be deliver'd into their hands, and carried Prisoner to *Ægina* in the place of those who were detain'd by the Athenians. But when they were ready to carry him away, *Theasides* the Son of *Leoprepes*, an eminent Spartan, spoke to them in these Terms : " Men of *Ægina*, said he, what are you about to do ? Are you resolv'd to take away the King of *Sparta*, because he is deliver'd into your hands ? Consider whether the Spartans, when you shall have executed the Order they have now given in Anger, will not bring all the Evils and Desolations of War into your Country on this Occasion." The *Æginetes* having consider'd these Words, were contented to desist ; on condition nevertheless that *Leutychides* would accompany them to *Athens*, and procure the Restitution of the Hostages. Accordingly *Leutychides* went to *Athens*, and after he had demanded the Persons in question, the Athenians seeking by an artificial Evasion to elude his Instances, told him, that having receiv'd the Hostages from two Kings in Person, they could not justly restore them to one in the absence of the other. *Leutychides* finding the Athenians resolv'd upon a Denial, said, " Do that, O Athenians, which pleases you best. If you restore the Hostages, you will do an Action of Justice : If not, the contrary. Yet I will tell you what happen'd formerly concerning a thing deposited in *Sparta*. We Spartans say, that about three Ages have pass'd, since one *Glau-cus* the Son of *Epicydides* liv'd in *Lacedæmon* ; a Man singularly eminent in all manner of Virtues,

“ Virtues, and more esteem’d for his Justice
“ than any other Person among the Lacede-
“ monians. In his time a certain Milesian
“ came to *Sparta*, and being desirous to be
“ acquainted with him, spoke to him in these
“ Terms: *Glaucus*, said he, I am a Milesian,
“ and now come to enjoy the Benefit of thy
“ Justice, which is so highly celebrated thro
“ all *Greece*, and principally among the Io-
“ nians. I have consider’d that *Ionia* is al-
“ ways expos’d to great Dangers; and that
“ on the contrary, *Peloponessus* is perpetually
“ secure, because the Inhabitants are known
“ to have no Riches. Upon this Reflection
“ I have determin’d to deposit with thee one
“ half of my Estate, which I have reduc’d in-
“ to Money; being fully assur’d it will be
“ safe in thy hands. Take then this Silver,
“ with this Token, and deliver the Money
“ to no other than the Person who shall bring
“ the like Mark. When the Milesian had said
“ these Words, *Glaucus* receiv’d the Treasure,
“ with a Promise to do as he desir’d. After
“ a long time the Sons of this Man coming
“ to *Sparta*, address’d themselves to *Glaucus*,
“ and having shew’d him the Token, demand-
“ ed the Money which had been deposited in
“ his hands. *Glaucus* in a passion told the Men
“ he remembred nothing of the matter, and
“ neither knew, nor cared to know what they
“ meant. Yet, said he, if I can recover the Me-
“ mory of this thing, I will do my Duty; because
“ if I have been intrusted, common Justice ob-
“ liges me to Restitution. But if on the con-
“ trary I have receiv’d nothing, I shall seek that
“ Satisfaction which the Laws of *Greece* allow:

“ And therefore I assign you the Term of four
 “ Months to return hither in order to finish
 “ this Affair. The Milesians thinking they
 “ had been defrauded of their Money, departed
 “ from *Sparta*. But *Glaucus* having afterwards
 “ inquired of the Oracle at *Delphi*, whether
 “ he should retain these Riches by Perjury,
 “ received this Answer from the Pythian in
 “ Verse :

*Perfidious Oaths, and violated Faith,
 Are oft attended by a present Gain :
 Swear boldly then; because the honest Man
 Must die as surely as the vilest Slave.
 But know, that speedy Vengeance shall o'ertake
 The perjur'd Criminal; his Son disgrac'd,
 Abject, and scorn'd, shall the whole House destroy :
 Then shall the Offspring of the Just rejoice.*

“ When *Glaucus* heard this, he pray'd the God
 “ to pardon the Words he had said. But the
 “ Pythian told him, that to tempt the God, or
 “ commit the Crime, was the same thing. So
 “ *Glaucus* sent for the Milesians and restor'd the
 “ Money. Now I shall inform you, O Atheni-
 “ ans, with what Design I have related this
 “ Event. The Posterity of *Glaucus* is utterly
 “ extinguish'd; we know not where his House
 “ stood, but both he and his are totally extir-
 “ pated: By which you may see that you ought
 “ to entertain no other Thought concerning a
 “ thing deposited, than to make Restitution to
 “ the Owner.” *Leutychides* having finish'd these
 Words, and finding he could not prevail with
 the Athenians, departed from *Attica*.

BUT before the Æginetes receiv'd the Punishment they deserv'd for the Injuries they had done to the Athenians in favour of the Thebans, they executed the following Enterprize. Being incens'd against the Athenians, and thinking themselves injur'd, they prepar'd to take their Revenge; and to that end, knowing that the Athenian Galley, which they us'd to send annually to *Delphi*, was then at *Sunium*; they intercepted the Vessel, and bound many principal Athenians who were found on board. From the time of that Disaster the Athenians resolv'd to omit nothing they could imagine, in order to distress the Æginetes. *Nicodromus*, the Son of *Cnæthus*, an eminent Person of *Ægina*, had formerly retir'd out of the Island in Discontent; and now hearing that the Athenians were determin'd to attack the Æginetes, he enter'd into an Agreement with them to deliver the City into their Hands on a certain Day, if they would be ready to assist him in his Enterprize at the time appointed. In pursuance of this Engagement, *Nicodromus* seiz'd that part of the Place which is call'd the Old-Town, for the Athenians: But they fail'd to arrive at the Day prefix'd; because they had not a sufficient Number of Ships to fight the Æginetes: and while they were in Treaty with the Corinthians for Succour, the Opportunity was lost. Nevertheless the Corinthians, who were then great Friends to the Athenians, assisted them at their Request, with twenty Ships; but took five Drachma's for each; because by their Laws they were forbidden to let them go without Reward. When the Athenians had receiv'd this Succour, and made

ready their own Fleet, they sail'd to *Ægina* with seventy Ships in all, and arriv'd one day too late. For *Nicodromus* finding himself disappointed by this Delay, had already made his Escape by Sea with divers of his Accomplices; who were all receiv'd by the Athenians, and permitted to settle in *Sunium*; from whence they afterwards infested the *Æginetes*, and committed many Depredations on the Island. In the mean time the most wealthy Citizens of *Ægina* having overpower'd the Plebeians of the Party of *Nicodromus*, put as many of them to death as fell into their hands; and in their Rage incur'd the Guilt of a sacrilegious Crime, which they could never expiate; but were ejected out of the Island before they had appeas'd the Anger of the Goddess. For as they led to Execution seven hundred of the People they had taken Prisoners, one of them getting loose, fled to the Temple of *Ceres* the Legislatress, and entring the Portico, laid hold upon the Hinges of the Gate: But they pursuing him close, and having in vain endeavour'd to drag him from the Place, cut off both his Hands, which they left fasten'd to the Gate, and forc'd him away in that Condition. After the *Æginetes* had done these things, they fought a Battle by Sea against the Athenians with seventy Ships; and being defeated, sent again to the Argians to desire their Assistance. But the Argians refusing to succour them, alledg'd in their Justification, that the Shipping of *Ægina* had been made use of by *Cleomenes* against the Territories of *Argos*, and that the *Æginetes* had landed their Forces with the Lacedemonians; as some of the Sicyonians had

had likewise done in the same Expedition; with this difference, that when the Argians had sentenc'd both Nations to the Payment of one thousand Talents for their Offence, the Sicyonians acknowledging their Fault, agreed with the Argians for one hundred Talents: But the Æginetes were so arrogant, that they would not condescend to own themselves in the wrong. For these Reasons none of the Argians were authoriz'd by the Publick to assist the Æginetes: Only about a thousand Voluntiers under the Conduct of *Eurybates*, who had been victorious in all the five Olympian Exercises, march'd to their Succour. But the greater Part of these perish'd in the War against the Athenians, and never return'd home from *Ægina*. *Eurybates* himself, after he had kill'd three several Antagonists in single Combat, died by the Hand of *Sophanes* the Son of *Deceles*, who was the fourth he encounter'd. Nevertheless, the Æginetes having found an Opportunity of attacking the Athenians when they were in disorder, obtain'd a Victory, and took four Ships with all the Men that were on board.

WHILST the Athenians were thus engag'd in a War against *Ægina*, *Darius* was not remiss in his Affairs; but being continually put in mind by his Servant to remember the Athenians, and incessantly surrounded by the Pisistratides who were their Enemies, he resolv'd to subdue all those Parts of *Greece*, which had denied him Earth and Water. To this End he remov'd *Mardonius* from his Command, because he had not succeeded in his Expedition by Sea; and sent *Datis* a Native of *Media*, and *Artaphernes* the Son of his Brother

Brother *Artaphernes*, to make War upon *Eretria* and *Athens*, with Orders to destroy those Cities, and bring all the Prisoners to him. After these Generals had been declar'd and had taken leave of the King, they advanc'd at the Head of a numerous and well provided Army into a Plain of *Cilicia*, situate near the Sea, and encamp'd there. In the mean time the Fleet arriv'd with Vessels for the Transportation of Horses; which *Darius* in the preceding Year had commanded the tributary Provinces to furnish: And when the Men and Horses were all imbark'd, they sail'd for the Coast of *Ionia* with six hundred Galleys. In this Voyage they would not shape a direct Course by the Continent of *Thrace* and the *Hellespont*; but departing from *Samos* made an oblique Passage thro the Icarian Sea among the *Cyclades*; chiefly, as I conjecture, dreading to double the Cape of Mount *Athos*, where they had sustain'd so great a Loss in the former Year; and partly in order to attack the Island of *Naxus*, which they had not yet reduc'd. Accordingly, when the Fleet arriv'd at *Naxus*, the Persians desir'd to make their first attempt upon that Place. But the Naxians remembering what had pass'd before, abandon'd their Habitations and fled to the Mountains: Upon which the Persians took as many Prisoners as they could seize; and after they had burnt the City with the Temples, departed to the rest of the Islands. During this Enterprize, the Delians left their Island, and transported themselves to *Tenus*: But when the Fleet arriv'd at the Height of *Delos*, *Datis*, who had the Van, not permitting the Ships to anchor in that Harbour, proceeded to *Rhenea*; and being

ing there inform'd where the Delians were, he sent a Herald to them with this Message :
“ Sacred Men, upon what Motive have you relinquish'd your Habitations, and by your Flight discover'd the ill Opinion you have of me? I am not your Enemy in Inclination ; and besides I have receiv'd a Command from the King, that in the Region, where two Gods are born, I should commit no Violence either against the Inhabitants or the Place. Return therefore to your Houses, and resume the Possession of your Island.” After he had sent this Message to the Delians, and burnt the Weight of three hundred Talents in Frankincense upon the Altar, he sail'd with the whole Fleet towards *Eretria*, accompanied by the Ioni-ans and Æolians. The Delians say, that upon his Departure the Island of *Delos* was shaken by an Earthquake, the first and last ever felt in that place to our time ; and that the God thereby foretold the Calamities impending over the Men of that Age. For under the Reigns of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, of *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius*, and of *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes* ; I say during the time of these three Kings, more Disasters fell upon *Greece* than in twenty Generations before ; partly brought upon us by the Persians, and partly by the principal Powers of the Country contending for Superiority. So that the Island of *Delos*, tho unmov'd before, might probably be shaken at that time, as a former Oracle had predicted in these Words :

I'll Delos shake, however yet unmov'd.

And

And certainly the Names of these three Kings are rightly explain'd by the Grecians : For in our Language *Darius* signifies a violent Master ; *Xerxes* a martial Man ; and *Artaxerxes* a mighty Warriour.

AFTER the Barbarians had left *Delos*, they went to the other Islands, where they recruited their Army with Men, and took the Sons of the Inhabitants for Hostages. Then advancing farther among the Islands, they arriv'd at *Carystus*, the People of which refus'd either to put Hostages into their hands, or to fight against their Neighbours of *Athens* and *Eretria*. For this cause the Carystians were besieg'd by the Persians, and their Territories ravag'd, till at last they surrender'd at discretion. By this time the Eretrians being inform'd that the Persians were coming to invade them with their Fleet, implor'd the Assistance of the Athenians ; who, at their request, order'd those four thousand Men that were in possession of the Lands formerly belonging to the Chalcidean Cavalry, to march to their Succour. But the Counsels of the Eretrians were corrupted and unsteady ; and tho' they had desir'd the Aid of the Athenians, they could not come to any settled Resolution. For some among them propos'd to abandon the City, and to retire into the Mountains of *Eubæa* ; whilst others were ready to betray their Country to the Persians, in expectation of private Advantages to themselves. So that *Æschines* the Son of *Nothon*, a Man of principal Authority in the City, being perfectly inform'd of these Divisions, communicated the present State of their Affairs to the Athenian Forces, and advis'd

vis'd them to return home, that they might not be involv'd in the common Ruin. The Athenians follow'd his Counsel, and by a timely Retreat to *Oropus*, sav'd themselves from Destruction.

IN the mean time the Persians arriving on the Coast of *Eretria*, brought their Fleet to an Anchor at *Chærea*, *Ægilia*, and the Temple; and having posses'd themselves of those Places, landed their Horses with diligence, and prepar'd all things in order to a Battle. But the Eretrians having been oblig'd by a Plurality of Voices not to abandon the City, apply'd themselves wholly in making provision for the Defence of their Walls, and would not march out to offer Battle to the Enemy: Which when the Persians perceiv'd, they began to attack the Place; and after six Days had pass'd with various Success, and great Slaughter on both sides, *Euphorbus* the Son of *Alcimachus*, and *Philagrus* the Son of *Cyneus*, Men of considerable Figure among the Eretrians, betray'd the City to the Persians. In this manner the Persians became Masters of *Eretria*; where, after they had pillag'd and set fire to the Temples, in revenge for those which had been burnt at *Sardis*, they enslav'd the Inhabitants, pursuant to the Orders of *Darius*. When they had taken this City, and rested a few days, they sail'd to *Attica*, and ravag'd the Country, supposing the Athenians would act no otherwise than the Eretrians had done. *Marathon* is a Region of *Attica*, more commodious for Horse than any other of that Country, and situate near *Eretria*. To this Place therefore *Hippias* the Son of *Pisistratus* conducted

ducted the Persians upon their landing : Which when the Athenians heard, they sent their Forces thither also under ten Captains ; and one of these was *Miltiades*, whose Father *Cimon*, the Son of *Stesagoras*, had been formerly oblig'd to fly from *Athens* in the time of *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippocrates*. During his Exile he obtain'd the Olympian Prize in the Quadrijugal Chariot-race, and transferr'd the Honour to *Miltiades* his Mother's Son. In the next Olympian he obtain'd a second Victory with the same Horses, and permitted *Pisistratus* to be proclaim'd Victor ; by which Concession he had Liberty to return home upon his Honour. At last, having had the same Glory a third time, he was assassinated in the Night by the Treachery of the Sons of *Pisistratus*, after the Death of their Father. For they suborn'd certain Persons to that purpose, who kill'd him in the *Prytanzeum*. He lies interr'd without the City, beyond the Highway of *Diocæle* ; and his Mares, which had won him three Olympian Prizes, are buried over against his Monument. Indeed *Evagoras* the Lacedemonian had a Set of Mares, that had done the same before ; but besides these, none ever arriv'd to that Excellence. *Stesagoras*, the eldest Son of *Cimon*, was educated in *Chersonesus* under the Care of his Uncle *Miltiades* ; but the younger, in *Athens* with his Father, and had the Name of *Miltiades* from his Ancestor, the Founder of *Chersonesus*. This *Miltiades* returning at that time from *Chersonesus*, was made Captain of the Athenians, after he had twice escap'd Death ; once, when the Phoenicians pursu'd him to *Imbrus*, exceedingly desirous to take a Man of that Importance,

in order to present him to the King; and a second time, when, after he had escap'd the Phœnicians, and was return'd home, where he thought himself in safety, his Enemies accus'd him to the Magistrates of usurping the Tyranny of *Chersonesus*. But he was clear'd of this Accusation, and elected Captain of the Athenians by the Suffrages of the People.

WHILST these Generals were yet in the City, they sent a Message to *Sparta* by one *Phidippides* an Athenian, who was a Messenger by Profession. To this Man, as he himself said, and affirm'd to the Athenians, *Pan* appear'd about Mount *Parthenius* beyond *Tegea*, calling him loudly by his Name, and commanding him to ask the Athenians, why they made so little account of him, who had always been inclin'd to favour them, and had already often deserv'd well of their State, as he resolv'd to do for the future. The Athenians being then in a prosperous Condition, gave credit to this Report, built a Temple to *Pan* at the Foot of the *Acropolis*, and from that time honour'd him with annual Sacrifices and a burning Lamp. This *Phidippides*, who said he had seen *Pan* in his way, arriving in *Sparta* on the second Day after his Departure from *Athens*, spoke to the Senate in these Terms: "Men of *Lace-*
" *dæmon*, said he, the Athenians desire you
" to assist them, and not to suffer the most an-
" tient of all the Grecian Cities to be en-
" slav'd by Barbarians: *Eretria* is already de-
" stroy'd, and *Greece* already weaken'd by the
" Loss of so considerable a Place." The Lace-
demonians having heard the Message deliver'd
by *Phidippides*, in pursuance of his Instructions,

consented to succour the Athenians, but could not do it immediately, without violating one of their Laws. For being then at the ninth Day of the Moon, they said they might not march into the Field before the Moon was full, and therefore would wait that Conjunction. In the mean time *Hippias* the Son of *Pisistratus*, having introduc'd the Barbarians into the Plain of *Marathon*, dreamt one night that he lay with his Mother ; and from thence concluded, that he should certainly recover the Dominion of *Athens*, and die an aged Man in his own House. But whilst he was employ'd in transporting the Booty of *Eretria* to *Ægilia*, an Island belonging to the Styrians ; in ranging the Ships of the Persian Fleet in the Port of *Marathon*, and in drawing up the Barbarians in order of Battle, he happen'd to cough and sneeze with such violence, that most of his Teeth were shaken in his Head, and one falling out into the Sand, could not be found, tho all possible Search was made for it. Upon which Accident, with a deep Sigh *Hippias* said to those who were present, “ This Country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us : And I shall have no other Part here than that where my Tooth lies.” Thus he thought his Dream was accomplish'd.

WHEN the Athenians had drawn their Forces together at the Temple of *Hercules*, the Platæans came in to their assistance with all the Men they could raise. They were already under the Protection of *Athens*, and the Athenians had gone thro many Dangers in their Defence. For when the Platæans saw themselves oppress'd by the Thebans, they first offer'd their Submission

to

to *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, and to the Lacedemonians. But they rejected the Offer in these Terms : “ We are plac’d, said they, at such a Distance from you, that in time of Necessity our Succours will prove ineffectual. For your Country may be frequently ravag’d before we can be inform’d of your Danger. We advise you therefore to put your selves under the Protection of the Athenians, who are your Neighbours, and sufficiently able to defend you.” This Counsel the Lacedemonians gave, not out of any good Will to the Platæans; but because they were desirous to see the Athenians weaken’d by a War against the Bœotians. However, the Platæans approving their Advice, went to *Athens*; and arriving there when the Athenians were met to sacrifice to the twelve Gods, they sat down by the Altar in the Posture of Suppliants, and made their Submission in that Place. Which when the Thebans heard, they sent an Army against *Platæa*; and at the same time the Athenians march’d to assist the Platæans. But as they were ready to engage in Battle, the Corinthians apprehending the Consequences, interpos’d their Offices to reconcile the contending Parties, and with the Consent of both sides determin’d the Dispute on this Agreement ; “ That the Thebans should permit all those Bœotians, who would no longer be accounted Members of *Bœotia*, to do as they thought most convenient for themselves.” After this Reconciliation the Corinthians return’d home, and as the Athenians were retiring likewise, the Bœotians fell upon them in their March, but were repuls’d with Loss. Upon which Success the Athenians en-

larg'd the Frontier of the Platæans, and instead of that appointed by the Corinthians, fix'd the Limits of the Thebans at *Aṣopus* and *Hyski*. In this manner the Platæans came under the Protection of the Athenians, and join'd their Forces at *Marathon*. When the Army was assembled, a Division arose among the Athenian Captains; some delivering their Opinion against fighting, because they were far inferior in Number to the Medes; and others as vehemently pressing to come to a Battle: Among the last was *Miltiades*, who finding they could not agree, and that the worst Opinion would probably prevail, went to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, at that time Polemarch in the Army, and elected to that Office by the Athenians with the Privilege of an eleventh Voice. For in former time the Athenians made the Polemarch equal to the Captains in the Decision of all Matters in debate. To this Person therefore *Miltiades* apply'd himself in these Words: " You alone, " O *Callimachus*, must now determine, either " to see the Athenians reduc'd to the Condition of Slaves, or by preserving the Liberty of your Country, leave an eternal Monument of your Fame, surpassing the Glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. For the Athenians were never in so great Danger from the time they were first a People. If they fall under the Power of the Medes, one may easily imagine what Usage they must expect from *Hippias*: But if they conquer, *Athens* will be the principal City of *Greece*. To let you know then by what means these things may be effected, and from what Cause the Fate of *Athens* is now

“ now in your Hands, I shall acquaint you,
“ that we are at this Instant divided in Op-
“ nion touching a Battle ; some of us proposing
“ to fight, and others advising the contrary.
“ If we decline a Battle, I foresee some great
“ Dissension will shake the Fidelity of the
“ Army, and induce them to a Compliance
“ with the Medes. But if we fight before
“ the Corruption slides into the Hearts of the
“ Athenians, we may hope from the Equity
“ of the Gods to obtain the Victory. All
“ these things are in your Power, and en-
“ tirely depend upon the Resolution you shall
“ take. For if you would support my Op-
“ nion with the Accession of your Vote, you
“ will see your Country free, and *Athens* the
“ most illustrious City of *Greece* : But if you
“ join with those who would dissuade us from
“ a Battle, you can expect no other Consequen-
“ ces than such as are most contrary to these
“ Hopes.” *Callimachus*, convinc'd by the force
of these Reasons, gave his Opinion with
those who were for fighting ; and by that
means a Resolution was taken to engage the
Enemy. All those Captains, who in the Coun-
cil of War had press'd for a Battle, when-
ever their Turn came to command the Army,
yielded that Honour to *Miltiades* : But tho' he
accepted the Power, yet he would not hazard
an Engagement before his own Day. When
therefore that Day was come, the Athenians
were drawn up in this Order of Battle. *Calli-
machus* plac'd himself at the Head of the right
Wing ; because the Laws of *Athens* assign'd
that Post to the Polemarch. Then the Tribes,
rang'd on a Line, follow'd in order ; and last of

all the Platæans were posted on the Left : From which time, in the Solemnity of the Quinquennial Sacrifices, the Athenian Orator is oblig'd to pray for the Welfare of the Platæans, as well as for the Prosperity of *Athens*. The Athenian Forces drawn up in this manner, were equal in Front to the Medes. But because they had not a sufficient Number of Men in the Centre, that Part was extremely weak, and the main Strength of the Army consisted in the two Wings. When all things were thus dispos'd, and the Sacrifice rightly perform'd, the Athenians ran with speed towards the Enemy, tho the Interval between the two Armies was no less than eight Stades in Length. The Persians seeing the Athenians advancing with such Precipitation, prepar'd themselves to sustain the Att2ck, imputing their Haste to Folly and Desperation ; because they were not only few in Number, but wholly destitute both of Horse and Lancers. But the Athenians coming up with the Barbarians, fell on with such Valour, that their Actions deserve ever to be remembred with Honour. For they were the first of all the Grecians, who had the Courage to look up-on the Median Habit without Fear, and to stand before the Men who wore that Dress ; whereas in former time the bare Name of the Medes was a Word of Terror in every Part of *Greece*. After a long and obstinate Fight, that Part of the Barbarian Army, in which were the Persians and the Saces, broke the Center of the Athenians, and pursued them thro the Plain. But the Athenians and the Platæans, who were in the right and left Wings, defecated the Barbarians on both sides ; and

and having suffer'd them to fly out of the Field, clos'd the two Points, and fell upon those who had broken their Centre. When they had defeated these, they pursued the broken Enemy with great Slaughter to the Sea, and set fire to their Fleet. In this Battle *Callimachus* the Polemarch, after he had given signal Proof of his Valour, was kill'd, with *Stasileus* the Son of *Thrasylus*, one of the Commanders in chief: and *Cynegyrus*, the Son of *Euphorion*, having laid hold on the Prow of one of the Enemy's Ships, had his Hands struck off with an Ax, and died of his Wound. Many other Persons of considerable Name were slain in this Action; and after seven Ships of the Enemy had been taken by the Athenians, the Barbarians imbark'd in the rest; and having put the Booty of *Eretria* on board, sail'd by the Promontory of *Sunium*, with a Design to surprise *Athens* before the Return of the Army. The Athenians say this Enterprize was undertaken at the Solicitation of the Alcmæonides, and that they held up a Shield for a Signal to the Persian Fleet. However, whilst they were doubling the Cape of *Sunium*, the Athenians decamping from the Temple of *Hercules* in *Marathon*, march'd with all possible diligence to the Succour of their City; and before the Barbarians could arrive, came and encamp'd at another Temple of *Hercules* in *Cynosargis*. Upon which the Barbarians having already pass'd the Harbour of *Phaleron* belonging to the Athenians, assembled their Fleet, and set sail, in order to return to *Asia*. In this Battle of *Marathon* were kill'd about six thousand three hundred of the Barbarians, and one hundred ninety two Athenians.

But here I must not omit a most surprizing thing which happen'd during that Action. One *Epizelus* the Son of *Cuphagoras*, an Athenian, fighting in the Rank with a becoming Valour, lost his sight on a sudden without receiving either Wound or Blow in any Part of his Body ; and from that time continued blind to the end of his Life. I have heard him, relating the manner of his Misfortune, affirm, that he thought he saw a Man of uncommon Height standing before him in compleat Armour, holding a Shield cover'd by the Length of his Beard ; and that this Phantom afterwards passing by him, kill'd the Person who stood next in the Rank.

DATIS, in his return to *Asia*, arriving at *Myconus*, dreamt he saw a Vision ; and tho he would not publish the Particulars, yet upon the first Appearance of Day he order'd all the Fleet to be search'd ; and having found a gilded Image of *Apollo* in one of the Phœnician Ships, enquir'd from what Temple they had taken it. When he was inform'd where they had the Statue, he sail'd in his own Ship to *Delos*, and finding the Inhabitants return'd thither, he deposited the Image in one of their Temples, commanding the Delians to transport it to *Delium*, a City of *Thebes*, built on the Sea-coast over against *Chalcis* ; and after he had given this order, put to Sea again. Nevertheless, because the Delians fail'd to execute his Command, the Thebans themselves sending to *Delos* upon the Admonition of the Oracle, brought away the Statue twenty Years after. In the mean time *Datis* and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, conducted the Eretrian Captives to *Susa* : And tho *Darius* had express'd

express'd great Indignation against the Eretrians before the Reduction of that Place, and charg'd them with the Guilt of beginning the War; yet finding they were now his Prisoners, and entirely in his Power, he did them no other hurt, than to send them to inhabit a Station belonging to himself in the Region of *Cissia*, and going by the Name of *Anderica*, distant from *Susa* two hundred and ten Stades; and forty Stades from a Well which yields Brimstone, Salt and Oil, in this manner: They let down a Bucket, fasten'd to a Crane, into the Well; and having drawn it up again, put the Liquor into a Cistern: Then they pour off the same Liquor a second time into a Vessel prepar'd for that purpose, and the Separation is presently made. For the Brimstone and Salt subside by different ways; and the Oil, which is black, of a strong Scent, and by the Persians call'd *Radinace*, is skimm'd off and put into Jars. In this Country *Darius* plac'd the Eretrians, who still continue to inhabit the same Region, and have preserv'd their antient Language to our Time. Thus I have finish'd what I had to say concerning the Affairs of the Eretrians.

AFTER the full Moon, two thousand Lacedemonians arriv'd in *Athens*, with so great a desire of finding the Enemy, that they had spent but three Days in their March from *Sparta* to *Attica*: And tho they came too late to be present at the Battle, yet being violently bent upon seeing the Medes, they proceeded to *Marathon*; and when they had satisfied their Curiosity, commended the Athenians for their Valour, and return'd home. But I am amaz'd, and can

never comprehend that the Alcmaeonides should in concert with the Enemy hold up a Shield for a Signal to the Persians ; as if they would have been contented to see the Athenians subject to the Barbarians, and to *Hippias* ; they who had ever shewn as much Hatred to Tyrants, or more, than *Callias* the Son of *Phænippus*, and Father of *Hipponeicus* ; tho *Callias* was the only Man among the Athenians, who, besides many other Actions of the utmost Enmity, had the Courage to purchase the Goods of *Pisistratus*, when after his Expulsion they were publickly sold by a Decree of the People. *Callias* indeed deserves always to be remembred with Honour, as well for the eminent Part he had in restoring the Liberty of his Country, as for the Actions he perform'd at the Olympian Exercises. He won the Race with a single Horse, and was second in the Quadrijugal Course. He had been before victorious in the Pythian Solemnities, and distinguish'd himself by his Magnificence in the View of all the Grecians. He was so indulgent to his three Daughters, that when they had attain'd to marriageable Years, he presented them with immense Riches, and permitted them to chuse their Husbands out of all the Families in *Athens*. But since nothing is more evident, than that the Alcmaeonides were no less Haters of Tyrants than *Callias*, my Wonder is the greater ; and I can never believe that they made a Signal to the Persians ; they, I say, who in all time had avoided to live under Tyranny, and had actually by their Contrivance expell'd the Family of *Pisistratus* ; acquiring by that Action a better Title, in my Opinion, to be call'd the Deliverers

of

of *Athens*, than *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. For these Men by killing *Hipparchus*, only exasperated those who surviv'd; but could not prevent them from continuing the Tyranny. Whereas the *Alcmæonides* manifestly restor'd the Freedom of *Athens*, if we may believe that they induc'd the Pythian to admonish the *Lacédemonians* to rescue the Athenians from Servitude, as I mention'd before. Perhaps some may pretend, that finding themselves afterwards upon the same Level with the People, they grew discontented, and were willing to betray their Country: On the contrary, no Men were ever in greater Esteem among the Athenians, or had a greater Share in the publick Honours; and therefore Reason forbids us to think that they held up the Shield on that account. That a Shield was seen, cannot be denied; for the thing is true: But who the Person was that held it up, is altogether unknown to me. The *Alcmæonian* Family had ever been considerable in *Athens*, and receiv'd an additional Lustre from *Alcmæon* and *Megacles*. For when the Lydians were sent by *Cræsus* to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, *Alcmæon* the Son of *Megacles* was their Confident, and entertain'd them hospitably: Which *Cræsus*, understanding, at their Return, he sent for him to *Sardis*, and after his Arrival gave him as much Gold as he could carry about his Body at once. *Alcmæon* having consider'd how to improve the Liberality of *Cræsus* to the best Advantage, put on a Coat of a vast Compass, with Buskins proportionably wide, and in that Dress being conducted to the Treasury, he plac'd himself upon a great Heap of Gold; and after he had

cramm'd

cramm'd as much into his Buskins as they could contain, fill'd his Garments on all sides, loaded his Hair with Ingots, and put many Pieces into his Mouth; he went out of the Treasury, hardly able to drag his Buskins after him, and resembling any thing rather than a Man. When *Cræsus* saw him in this Condition, with his Mouth full, and every other Part loaded with Gold, he broke into a Fit of Laughter, and gave him all he had brought out, with many other Presents of no less Value. Thus *Alcmeon* having enrich'd his Family, was enabled to breed Horses, with which he won the Quadrijugal Prize at the Olympian Exercises. But in the second Generation after him, *Clisthenes* Tyrant of *Sicyon*, rais'd this House to a higher Degree of Glory than ever they had attain'd before. This *Clisthenes*, who was the Son of *Aristomymus*, and Grandson to *Myron* the Son of *Andreas*, had a Daughter nam'd *Agarista*, which he purpos'd to marry to the Man he should judge most worthy among all the Grecians. To that end, during the Olympian Solemnity, in which *Clisthenes* obtain'd the Victory in the Quadrijugal Race, he caus'd open Proclamation to be made, that whoever of the Grecians thought himself worthy to be Son-in-Law to *Clisthenes*, should come to *Sicyon* before the Expiration of sixty Days; because he had determin'd to marry his Daughter within the Compass of a Year after that time. Upon which Notification all such Grecians as thought highly of themselves and their Country, went to *Sicyon*; where *Clisthenes* had made Preparations for Races and Wrestling. From *Italy* arriv'd *Smindyrides* the Son of *Hippocrates*,

crates, a Man plung'd in Voluptuousness beyond most Examples, and born at *Sybaris*, which was then at the Height of its Prosperity; with *Damas* of *Siris*, the Son of *Samyris* surnamed the Wise. From the *Gulph* of *Ionia* came *Amphimnestus* the Son of *Epistrophus* of *Epidamnus*; and from *Æolia*, *Males* the Brother of *Titormus*, who surpass'd all the Grecians in Strength, and had retir'd to the Extremities of *Æolia*. From *Peloponesus*, arriv'd *Leocides* the Son of *Phidon* Tyrant of *Argos*: of that *Phidon*, I say, who prescrib'd Measures to the Peloponesians; and exceeding all the Grecians in Arrogance, remov'd the Elian Judges, and assum'd to himself the Power of appointing the Olympian Exercises: *Amiantus* an Arcadian of *Trapezus* and Son to *Lycurgus*; with *Laphanes* the Azanian of *Pæus*, Son of that *Euphorion*, who, according to a common Report, entertain'd *Castor* and *Pollux* in his House, and from that time receiv'd all Strangers with great Hospitality: These, with *Onomastus* of *Elis*, the Son of *Agæus*, came from *Peloponesus*. From *Athens* came *Megacles* the Son of that *Alcmæon* who visited *Cræsus*; and *Hippoclides* the Son of *Tifander*, in Riches and Beauty surpassing all the Athenians of his time. From *Eubæa*, *Lysanius* alone, a Native of *Eretria*, which was then in a flourishing Condition. From *Thessaly*, *Dictorides* of *Cranon*; and from the Molossians, *Alcon*. All these were Pretenders to the Daughter of *Clisthenes*, and arriv'd in *Sicyon* before the sixty Days were expir'd. *Clisthenes*, in pursuance of his Design, first examin'd every one touching his Country and Descent: After which he detain'd them a whole Year, in order to inform

form himself fully of their Fortitude, Temperance, Institution, and Manners; conversing with them frequently apart, and together, and conducting the Youngest to the Gymnastic Exercises. Above all he endeavour'd to discover their Inclinations when he entertain'd them with Feasting; for he tried all Experiments, and treated them with great Magnificence during the whole time they staid with him. But among the several Candidates he principally favour'd the Athenians; especially *Hippoclides* the Son of *Tisander*; because he was esteem'd for his Courage, and deriv'd his Descent from the Corinthian *Cypselides*. When the Day was come, which *Clithenes* had appointed for naming the Person he should chuse; he sacrific'd a Hecatomb, and invited the Pretenders, with all the Sicyonians, to the Feast. After Supper they enter'd into a Dispute concerning Musick, and other things that occasionally fell into Discourse at that time: And as the Wine went warmly about, *Hippoclides* with an assuming Air commanded the Musician to play a Tune call'd *Emmelia*; in which being readily obey'd, he danc'd with much Satisfaction to himself; tho. *Clithenes* observing all that pass'd, began to suspect the Event. When *Hippoclides* had finish'd his Dance, and rested some time, he commanded a Table to be brought in; which was no sooner done, than mounting upon it, he first imitated the Laconian Measures, then danc'd after the Athenian manner; and last of all setting his Head upon the Table, and erecting his Feet, he mov'd his Legs in such Postures, as he had already practis'd with his Hands. Tho the first and second of these

Dances

Dances had sufficiently dissuaded *Clithenes* from chusing a Son-in-Law of so much profligate Impudence; yet he contain'd himself, and would not break out into an open Passion. But when he saw him endeavouring with his Legs to imitate the Actions of his Hands, he lost all Patience, and cried out, “O Son of *Tisander*, “ thou hast danc'd away thy Marriage.” The other answer'd, “ That is not the care of *Hippocles*.” Which Saying afterwards obtain'd the Authority of a Proverb. Then *Clithenes* having commanded Silence, spoke to those who pretended to his Daughter, in these Words: “ I commend you all, and am willing to gratify you all, if I could; without distinguishing any one in particular, to the Disadvantage of the rest. But because I have no more than one Daughter, and consequently can not comply with the Desires of so many Persons, I give a Talent of Silver to every one of those who shall be excluded; as well in acknowledgment of your Readiness to enter into my Family by this Match, as of the time you have spent in a long Absence from your Habitations; and I give my Daughter *Agarista* to *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmaeon*, to be his Wife under the Conditions and Usages of the Athenians.” *Megacles* immediately declar'd his Consent, and the Nuptials were celebrated in the House of *Clithenes*. Thus the Dispute so long depending between these Rivals was determin'd, and the Alcmaeonides became famous in *Greece*. Of this Marriage was born a Son, nam'd *Clithenes* from the Father of his Mother. He divided the Athenians into Tribes, and establish'd the Democratical Government.

Megacles

Megacles had also another Son nam'd *Hippocrates*, who was the Father of another *Megacles*, and of another *Agarista*, so call'd from the Daughter of *Clithenes*. This *Agarista* being afterwards married to *Xanthippus* the Son of *Ariphron*, and big with Child, dreamt she had brought forth a Lyon, and within few Days was deliver'd of *Pericles*.

MILTIADES having by his Success at *Marathon* acquir'd a much greater Reputation in *Athens* than he had before, demanded seventy Ships of the Athenians, with Men and Money proportionable; in order to undertake an Expedition, which he kept private; and only told them, that if they would follow him, he would put them into possession of great Riches; and lead them into a Country, from whence they should bring home Gold in abundance without Difficulty. The Athenians accepting the Proposition with Joy, prepar'd the Ships accordingly: And when *Miltiades* had receiv'd all things necessary to his Enterprize, he set sail for *Paros*; under Colour that the *Parians* had assisted the *Persians* with their Ships in the Expedition to *Marathon*. But the Truth is, he was incens'd against the *Parians* because *Lysagoras* the Son of *Tisens*, a Man of *Parian* Extraction, had spoken ill of him to *Hydarnes* the *Persian*. When *Miltiades* arriv'd at *Paros*, he besieg'd the City, and sending in his Heralds, demanded a hundred Talents of the *Parians*; threatening, in case of Refusal, not to draw off his Army before he had taken the Place. But the *Parians* refusing to deliberate whether they should give Money to *Miltiades*, applied themselves wholly to contrive by what means they might defend the City;

City ; repairing their Fortifications in divers Places, and working in the Night, till they had made their Walls doubly higher than before, in that Part where they were least defensible. Thus far all the Grecians agree in their Report : The rest, as the Parians say, pass'd in this manner. When *Miltiades* saw all his Measures broken, one *Timo*, a Woman of *Paros*, Subpriestess of the National Gods, and then his Prisoner, came to him and counsel'd him, if he valued the taking of *Paros*, to do as she should advise. *Miltiades* having heard her Proposal, went directly to the Inclosure of the Temple dedicated to *Ceres* the Legislatress, without the City ; and after he had endeavour'd in vain to open the Gate, he mounted the Wall, and leap'd down, with a Design to enter the sacred Place, in order to do something, or to move something, which ought not to have been mov'd. But while he stood before the Doors, he was seiz'd with a sudden Horrour ; and resolving to return, leap'd back again from the same Place, and broke his Thigh, tho some say he fell upon his Knee. Thus *Miltiades* having neither obtain'd the Money he demanded, nor taken *Paros*, return'd to *Athens* with Disgrace, after he had ravag'd the Country, and besieg'd the City twenty six Days. When the Siege was rais'd, the Parians being inform'd of the Counsel which *Timo* had given to *Miltiades*, and desiring to bring her to Justice, sent Deputies to inquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, whether they should punish her with Death, for endeavouring to betray the City to the Enemy, and discovering the sacred Mysteries to *Miltiades*, which

which ought not to be reveal'd to any Man. But the Pythian not permitting them to do as they desir'd, affirm'd that *Timo* was not the Author of that Advice; and that the Gods having determin'd the Destruction of *Miltiades*, had only made her the Instrument of his Death. This Answer the Pythian gave to the Parians.

WHEN *Miltiades* was return'd to *Athens*, many of the Athenians were incens'd against him, and none more than *Xanthippus* the Son of *Ariphron*, who accus'd him to the People for deceiving the Athenians, and desir'd he might be punish'd with Death. *Miltiades* could not be present to defend himself, because his Thigh beginning to mortify, render'd him unable to move from his Bed. But his Friends appearing for him, alledg'd in his Favour the Actions he perform'd at *Marathon*; together with the Acquisition of *Lemnos*; which *Miltiades* reduc'd under the Dominion of *Athens*, after he had expell'd the Pelasgians for the Injuries they had done to the Athenians. These Allegations prevail'd so far with the People, that they would not sentence him to Death; but fin'd him fifty Talents for his Crime. Soon after which, *Miltiades* ended his Life by the Putrefaction and Mortification of his Thigh; and his Son *Cymon* paid his Fine. As for *Lemnos*, *Miltiades* took possession of that Island, on the following Occasion. The Pelasgians had been already driven out of *Attica* by the Athenians; whether justly or unjustly I shall not determine; having nothing more to say than what is reported on both sides. *Hecataeus*, the Son of *Hegesander*, affirms they were unjustly expell'd. For, says he, when the Athenians

niāns saw that the Lands about *Hymēssus*, which they had given to the Pelasgians in Payment, for the Wall they had built about the *Acropolis*, were improv'd from a barren and unprofitable Soil, into a fertil and well cultivated Region, they grew envious of their Prosperity ; and coveting to resume the Country, drove out the Pelasgians without any other Pretence whatever. On the other hand the Athenians affirm, that they were justly ejected on account of the Injuries they had done. For they saw that while the Pelasgians continued to inhabit under Mount *Hymēssus*, they frequently left their Habitations, and in Contempt of the Athenians offer'd Violence to their Sons and Daughters who were sent for Water to the Place call'd the *Nine Fountains* ; because in those times neither they nor any other People of *Greece* were furnish'd with Slaves : That the Pelasgians not contented with these Attemps, were at last manifestly detected to have form'd a Design against *Athens* ; and that the Athenians, to shew themselves as generous as the others had been base, when they had the Power of punishing these Offenders for their manifest Treachery, chose rather to command them only to depart the Country : Which the Pelasgians obeying, possess'd themselves of *Lemnos*, and other Places. Thus *Hecataeus* relates this Occurrence in one manner, and the Athenians in another. But those Pelasgians who inhabited *Lemnos*, desiring to be reveng'd, and knowing all the Festival Days of the Athenians, fitted out some Gallies of fifty Oars each ; and having laid an Ambuscade for their Wives as they celebrated the Feast of *Diana* in *Brauron*,

they surpriz'd a great Number; carried them away to *Lemnos*, and kept them for Concubines. These Women abounding in Children, taught their Sons the Language of *Attica*, and Manners of the Athenians: By which means they not only refus'd to converse with the Sons of the Pelasgian Women; but if any one of their Number was attack'd, they all immediately ran to his Assistance, and reveng'd the Injury. Thus thinking themselves worthy to command the Sons of the Pelasgians, they easily became their Masters. When the Pelasgians were inform'd of these things, they consulted together; and judging such Arrogance insupportable, drew this Consequence: If, said they, at these Years they have learn'd to defend one another, and constantly endeavour'd to usurp a Superiority over the Children of our legitimate Wives; what will they not do, when they attain the Age of Men? Which Thought made so deep an Impression in the Minds of the Pelasgians, that they resolv'd to murder the Children they had by the Women of *Attica*; and, to compleat their Cruelty, dispatch'd the Mothers after them. From this atrocious Crime, and that which was perpetrated before by those Women, who with the Assistance of *Thoas* kill'd their Husbands, all enormous Actions pass among the Grecians under the Name of *Lemnian*. But the Pelasgians, after the Murder of these Children with their Mothers, perceiving their Lands to become barren, their Wives unfruitful, and their Flocks not to yield the usual Increase; tormented with Famine, and destitute of Children, sent to *Delphi*, in order to be inform'd by what means they might be

be deliver'd from these Calamities: And being admonish'd by the Pythian to give Satisfaction to the Athenians in the manner they should desire, they went to *Athens*, and profess'd themselves ready to suffer any Punishment they should think fit to impose on account of the Injuries they had receiv'd. The Athenians having heard their Offer, prepar'd a magnificent Feast in the *Prytaneum*; and when they saw the Table furnish'd with all kind of Provisions, they commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their Country, in as good a Condition: To which they answer'd, " That they would obey, when the North Wind should carry a Ship in one Day from the Territories of the Athenians to their Island: " Well knowing the thing to be impossible, because *Attica* is situate much more to the Southward than *Lemnos*. But many Years after they had given this Answer, when the Hellespontin *Chersonesus* became subject to the Athenians, *Miltiades* the Son of *Cymon* having imbark'd at *Eleus*, a City on the *Hellespont*, was carried by a strong Etesian Wind in one Day to *Lemnos*: and immediately commanding the Pelasgians to depart out of the Island, reminded them of their solemn Promise, which they hop'd never to see accomplish'd. The Hephæstians obey'd the Order of *Miltiades*: But the Myrinæans, not acknowledging *Chersonesus* to belong to *Attica*, sustain'd a Siege, till they were compell'd to surrender. And in this manner *Lemnos* was reduc'd by *Miltiades* under the Power of the Athenians.

History of *Herodotus*.

BOOK. VII.

P O L Y M N I A.

WHEN *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* had receiv'd the News of the Battle fought at *Marathon*, he became much more incens'd against the Athenians, than he had been before for the Invasion of *Sardis*, and much more diligent in his Preparations to carry on the War against *Greece*. He dispatch'd Meslages to the several Cities of his Dominions, enjoining every one in particular to raise a greater Number of Forces than ever, sufficiently furnish'd with Horses, Ships, and all manner of Provisions. These Commands of the King put all *Asia* into a Ferment during the Space of three Years. But in the fourth Year, when the best of his Forces were assembled, in order to invade *Greece*; the *Ægyptians*, who had been subdued by *Cambyses*, revolted from the Persians. So that *Darius* being irritated at once against the Grecians and *Ægyptians*, resolv'd to make War against both. But when he had prepar'd all things for his Expeditions to *Greece* and *Ægypt*, a great Contest arose between his Sons concerning the Succession of the Kingdom: For by the Customs of *Perse* the King is oblig'd to nominate his Successor,

K ? before

before he departs to put himself at the Head of the Army. *Darius* had three Sons by the Daughter of *Gobryas*, his first Wife; all born before he was King: And after his Accession to the Throne, he had four more by *Atoffa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*. Of the first, *Artabazanes* was the eldest: Of the latter, *Xerxes*: And these two being born of different Mothers, were Competitors for the Succession. *Artabazanes* urg'd, that he was the eldest of all the Sons of *Darius*, and that by the Customs of all Nations the eldest Son had a Right to the Kingdom: On the other hand, *Xerxes* alledg'd, that he was the Son of *Atoffa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, who had deliver'd the Persians from Servitude. *Darius* had not yet declar'd himself in favour of either, when *Demaratus* the Son of *Ariston*, who had been depriv'd of the Kingdom of *Sparta*, and arriv'd at *Susa* about that time, hearing of this Dispute between the Sons of *Darius*, went to *Xerxes*, as I am inform'd, and counsell'd him to add these Reasons to his Defence: That he was born after *Darius* had obtain'd the Kingdom, with all the Dominions of *Persia*; whereas *Artabazanes* was only Son of *Darius* a private Man; and consequently, to let another enjoy the Advantages that belong'd to him, would be contrary to the Rules of Equity and Justice; and that by the Laws of *Sparta*, all Children born before their Father was invested with the Royal Dignity, were excluded from the Succession, if he had any Son to succeed him, born after that time. These Reasons having been produc'd by *Xerxes* at the Suggestion of *Demaratus*, appear'd so just to *Darius*, that he declar'd him King. But I am inclin'd to believe,

believe, that without this Advice, *Xerxes* would have been King; because the Authority of *Atoffa* was too great to be resisted. When *Darius* had nominated *Xerxes* to succeed him, and firmly resolv'd to pursue his intended Enterprizes, he died, in the second Year of the Revolt of *Ægypt*, after he had reign'd thirty six Years; and had not the Satisfaction of executing his Designs either against the *Ægyptians* or *Athenians*.

XERXES the Son of *Darius* succeeding him in the Kingdom, shew'd little Disposition at first to make War against *Greece*, and bent his Thoughts wholly upon the Reduction of *Ægypt*. But *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobryas* by the Sister of *Darius*, and consequently Cousin German to *Xerxes*, in confidence of the Authority he had with the King, spoke to him on that Subject to this Effect: " SIR, if you suffer the *Athenians* to go unpunish'd, after all the Mischiefs they have done to the Persians, we shall be dishonour'd. However, at present finish the Enterprize you have begun; and when you shall see the Insolence of the *Ægyptians* humbled, lead your Army against *Athens*; that all Men may speak of you with Honour, and no Nation for the future may dare to attack any of your Dominions." To this Discourse, hitherto tending only to Revenge, he added, That *Europe* was a beautiful Country; abounding in delicious Fruits, and Men of invincible Courage: In a word, too excellent to be possess'd by any other than the greatest of Kings. Now, tho his own youthful Ambition, and a violent Desire to see himself made Governour of *Greece*,

were the principal Motives he had to give this Counsel ; yet he at last prevail'd with *Xerxes* to do as he advis'd ; and was not a little assisted in his Design by a favourable Conjunction. For about that time the Achaian Kings of *Thessaly* sent Ambassadors to *Xerxes*, with Orders to solicit him to invade *Greece*, and to promise him all manner of Assistance on their Part. The Pisistratides likewise, then in Exile at *Susa*, us'd the same Persuasions ; and in order to compass their Design, produc'd a certain Athenian nam'd *Onomacritus*, who, they said, could interpret Oracles, and explain the Divinations of *Musæus*. This Man was reconcil'd to them before their Arrival in *Persia*, but had been formerly their Enemy. For he was first banish'd from *Athens* by *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, upon the Discovery of *Lasus* the Son of *Hermion*, who surpriz'd him in the very Fact of inserting a supposititious Oracle among those of *Musæus*, importing, that the Islands about *Lemnos* should be swallow'd up by the Sea : And on that account *Hipparchus* expell'd him out of *Athens*, after he had us'd his Conversation with great Familiarity. This *Onomacritus* having accompanied the Pisistratides to *Susa*, was recommended by them to the King as an extraordinary Person ; and being introduc'd into his Presence, recited some of his Oracles ; always remembering to suppress those that foretold any Disaster to the Barbarians, and producing only such as were favourable to their Affairs. Among those of the last Sort, he repeated one, which foretold that a Bridge should be laid over the *Hellespont* by a Persian ; and descended to all the Circumstances belonging to that Enterprize.

Thus

Thus *Xerxes*, partly on the Hopes he conceiv'd from these illusory *Oracles*, and partly at the Instigation of the *Pisistratides* and *Aleuadians*, determined to make War against *Greece*. Nevertheless, in the first place, and in the second Year after the Death of *Darius*, having assembled an Army, in order to punish the revolted *Ægyptians*, he reduc'd all *Ægypt* to a worse Condition of Servitude than they had felt under his Father, and gave the Government of that Country to his Brother *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius*; who was afterwards kill'd by *Inarus* the Son of *Psammitichus*, a Lybian. When *Xerxes* had thus recover'd *Ægypt*, and was about to prepare all things for his Expedition against *Athens*, he summon'd a Council of the principal Persians, as well to hear their Opinions, as to declare his own; and after they were all assembled, spoke to this effect: "I will not, O Persians, be the Author of new Institutions, but shall act in Conformity to those I have receiv'd. For I am instructed by Men of elder Years, that from the time we wrested the Power out of the hands of the *Medes*, and *Cyrus* dethron'd *Astyages*, we never liv'd an inglorious, unactive Life; but by following the Hand of God, which was our Guide, we have attain'd to a great measure of Prosperity. The Actions perform'd by *Cyrus*, by *Cambyses*, and by my Father *Darius*, together with the Nations they conquer'd, are too well known to you to need a Repetition. As for me, since I took Possession of the Throne, my principal Care has been not to fall short of my Predecessors in Glory, and to acquire as great a Proportion of

“ of Power to the Persians. Revolving these
“ Thoughts in my Mind, I am persuaded,
“ we may at once obtain a glorious Name,
“ with the Conquest of a Country not infe-
“ rior to that we now possess, but rather
“ more abounding in all things; and at the
“ same time revenge the Injuries we have re-
“ ceiv'd. To this end therefore I have called
“ you together, and shall acquaint you with
“ the Enterprize I have form'd. I design to
“ lay a Bridge over the *Hellespont*, and to
“ transport an Army by the way of *Europe* in-
“ to *Greece*, that I may punish the Athenians
“ for the Injuries they have done to the Per-
“ sians and to my Father. You know *Darius*
“ had determin'd to make War against those
“ Men, but Death prevented him from execu-
“ ting his Design. I resolve therefore to do Jus-
“ tice to my Father and the Persians, and not to
“ lay down my Arms, till I have taken and
“ burnt *Athens*, whose Citizens were the first
“ Aggressors in this War against me and my Fa-
“ ther. For before any Violence had been done
“ on either side, they invaded *Sardis*, in con-
“ junction with *Aristagoras* the Milesian, our
“ Servant; and burnt down the Sacred Groves
“ with the Temples. And how they treated
“ you, when you made a descent into their
“ Territories under the Conduct of *Datis* and
“ *Artaphernes*, is sufficiently known to you all.
“ These things have excited in me an ardent
“ desire to invade their Country with Fire and
“ Sword: Being assur'd, and not without good
“ reason, that if we can subdue the Athe-
“ nians, with their Neighbours, who inhabit
“ the Country of *Pelops* the Phrygian, the Per-
“ sian

“ sian Dominions will be bounded by no other Limits than the Heavens ; and the Sun shall not behold any Region distinguish’d from us, or exempted from our Obedience. For I intend, with your Concurrence, to march thro all the Parts of *Europe*, and to reduce the whole Earth into one Empire ; being well inform’d, that no City or Nation of the World will dare resist my Arms, after the Reduction of those I have mention’d. And thus, not only the Guilty, but likewise those who have not at all offended us, must equally submit to the Yoke of Servitude. If then you will gratify my Desires, prepare all things necessary for this Expedition, that you may be ready to attend me at the time I shall appoint. And I now promise, that he who shall appear at the head of the best Troops, shall be rewarded by me, in the manner he shall judge most honourable. But lest I should seem to impose my own Sentiments upon you, I desire you to debate the matter, and deliver your Opinions with Freedom.” After *Xerxes* had finish’d these Words, *Mardonius* rose up, and said : “ SIR, You are not only the most excellent of all the Persians that have liv’d before your Time, but likewise of all that shall be born in future Ages. And as in other things you have spoken most judiciously and truly ; so you have rightly determin’d, no longer to suffer the European Ionians to insult the Persians, who ought not to be the Objects of their Contempt. For what greater Indignity can be imagin’d, than if, after we have conquer’d the Saces, Indians, *Æthiopians*

“ ans and Assyrians, with many other power-
“ ful Nations, which never offer’d to do us
“ any Wrong, in order only to enlarge our Do-
“ minions, we should suffer the Grecians to
“ go unpunish’d, who have first provok’d us
“ by their injurious Attempts? Of what are
“ we afraid? What Forces, what Treasures
“ have they? We know their Manner of fight-
“ ing; and we are no less inform’d of the
“ Paucity of their Numbers. Besides, we have
“ already subdued their Descendants the Ioni-
“ nians, Æolians and Dorians, who inhabit
“ within our Territories. I learnt by Expe-
“ rience what they are, when I was command-
“ ed by your Father to make War against
“ them. I penetrated into *Macedonia*, and ad-
“ vanc’d almost to *Athens*; yet no Man had
“ the Courage to oppose my Passage. The Gre-
“ cians, as I am inform’d, are accustomed to
“ take up Arms rashly, and manage their Wars
“ without Art or Knowledge. For when they
“ have declar’d War against one another, they
“ march into the most open Plain they can find,
“ and fight a Battle; in which the Conquerors
“ never go away without great Loss; and the
“ Conquer’d, to say all at once, are cut in
“ pieces. Whereas being of the same Lan-
“ guage, they ought rather to adjust their Dif-
“ ferences by Ambassadors, and try all ways
“ of Accommodation, before they have Re-
“ course to Arms: Or if these Means prove
“ ineffectual, they ought at least to post them-
“ selves in Places of difficult Access, not easily
“ penetrable on either side. Yet these very
“ Men, tho accustom’d to this ill Method,
“ never ventur’d to entertain a Thought of
“ fighting

" fighting during all the time I continued in
 " *Macedonia*. How then shall they dare to resist
 " you, attended by all the Forces and Ships of
 " *Asia*? For my own part, I cannot imagine
 " that the Grecians will ever proceed to such a
 " Degree of Audaciousness. But if I should
 " happen to be deceiv'd, and they should be so
 " ill advis'd to appear in Arms against us, they
 " must learn by a dear-bought Experience, that
 " we know more of military Affairs than all
 " other Men of the World. However, let us
 " try the Experiment: For nothing moves with-
 " out a Cause, but all things are accomplish'd
 " by Labour and Industry." When *Mardonius*
 had thus flatter'd the Inclinations of *Xerxes* by a
 courtly Assentation, and the rest of the Persians
 continued silent, because they would not venture
 to propose a contrary Opinion, *Artabanus* the
 Son of *Hystaspes*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, in con-
 fidence of his Dignity, deliver'd his Sentiments
 in the following Terms: " SIR, said he, Un-
 " less Men will hear different Opinions, they
 " can never chuse the most advantageous, but lie
 " under a Necessity of following that which is
 " first propos'd. Whereas when various and
 " contrary Opinions have been heard, Men are
 " enabled to discern the best Counsels; as they
 " distinguish the purest Gold, by Comparison
 " with that which contains a greater Quantity
 " of Allay. I endeavour'd to dissuade *Darius*
 " your Father and my Brother, from making
 " War against *Scythia*, a Country destitute of
 " Cities in any Part: But he hoping to conquer
 " the Scythians, rejected my Advice, undertook
 " that Expedition; and after he had lost the best
 " of his Forces, was compell'd to retire with

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" the

“ the rest. You are now disposing all things to
“ attack a much braver Nation than the Scy-
“ thians ; Men, who have distinguish'd them-
“ selves with Glory both by Sea and Land : and
“ therefore I think myself oblig'd to inform you
“ of the Dangers that attend your Enterprize.
“ You say, you have resolv'd to lay a Bridge o-
“ ver the *Hellespont*, in order to transport your
“ Army into *Europe*, and to march directly to
“ *Greece*. But this Design will bring you under
“ a Necessity of beating the Grecians either by
“ Land or by Sea ; perhaps in both : Yet, as
“ I am inform'd, they are a warlike People, and
“ that they will not be an easy Conquest, one
“ may conjecture from this Example : The A-
“ thenians alone defeated and ruin'd that nu-
“ merous Army which invaded *Attica*, under
“ the Conduct of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. But
“ if they should try their Fortune by Sea, and
“ obtain the Victory ; if upon that Success
“ they should sail to the *Hellespont*, and destroy
“ your Bridge ; What could be imagin'd more
“ terrible ? I shall not pretend that these
“ Thoughts are the Result of my own Wisdom :
“ On the contrary, they are only the Effects of
“ former Experience. How near were we to
“ utter Destruction, when your Father had
“ pass'd into *Scythia* by the Bridges he laid
“ over the Thracian *Bosphorus*, and over the
“ *Ister* ? For the Scythians arriving on the
“ Banks of that River, most earnestly desir'd
“ the Ionians left there for a Guard, to break
“ the Bridge : And if *Histiæus*, Tyrant of
“ *Miletus*, had assented to the Opinion of the
“ rest, and had not vigorously oppos'd that
“ fatal Design, the Destruction of the Persian
“ Name

“ Name was inevitable. I tremble to think,
“ that the King, with all he possess’d, lay then
“ at the mercy of one Man. Let me persuade
“ you therefore, not to expose your self to so
“ great Dangers without necessity: Dissolve
“ this Assembly; and after a more deliberate
“ Reflection upon these things, declare your In-
“ tentions, and take such Measures as you
“ shall judge most advantageous. I have ever
“ found, that to form a Design upon the best
“ Counsels, is in all Events most useful: For
“ if the expected Success should not follow;
“ yet he who has taken the most rational
“ Measures, has always the Satisfaction of
“ having done his Part, tho Fortune happen to
“ be superior to Wisdom. But if he who
“ rashly undertakes an imprudent Enterprize,
“ should chance to prosper, he indeed accom-
“ plishes his Design, and yet deserves no less
“ Blame than if he had fail’d of Success. You
“ see the greatest Animals are most frequently
“ struck with the Thunder of *Jupiter*, and not
“ long permitted to continue their Ravages,
“ while the most inconsiderable are spar’d. You
“ see those Bolts ever lanc’d against the state-
“ liest Edifices, and most lofty Trees. For the
“ God takes a pleasure in depressing whatever
“ is too highly exalted. Hence great Armies
“ are often defeated by small Numbers of Men;
“ when struck by the jealous God with a pa-
“ nick Fear, or terrified by the Noise of his
“ Thunder, they become destitute both of Vi-
“ gour and Courage: because God will not
“ suffer any Mortal to think magnificently of
“ himself. In all Actions Precipitation produces
“ Errors, which for the most part are attended

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“ with

“ with pernicious Consequences. But many
“ Advantages flow from deliberate Coun-
“ sels; perhaps not presently apparent, yet
“ most certainly ensuing afterwards. This, O
“ King, is the Advice I would persuade you
“ to pursue: And as for thee, *Mardonius*, thou
“ Son of *Gobryas*, cease to talk impertinently
“ of the Grecians; because they are no way
“ fit to be contemn'd. By unjust Detraction
“ you endeavour to engage the King to make
“ War against them; and, in my Opinion,
“ have strenuously exerted your Efforts that
“ way. But I hope such Methods shall not
“ prevail. For Calumny is a detestable thing,
“ as it is a Combination of two against one:
“ Because he who calumniates another, does him
“ an Injury in his Absence: And he who be-
“ lieves the Calumny, is no less unjust, in gi-
“ ving his Assent to the Accusation, before he
“ is duly inform'd. In a word, the absent
“ Person receives a double Injury; being falsely
“ accus'd by one, and unjustly condemn'd by
“ the other. But, *Mardonius*, if nothing can
“ dissuade you from making War against the
“ Grecians, let the King continue in *Persepolis*,
“ and our Children be deposited in his hands:
“ Then go on with your Expedition, accom-
“ panied by the best Forces you can chuse,
“ and in what Numbers you think fit: And
“ if things succeed in the manner you have
“ suggested to the King, I will be content-
“ ed to forfeit my own Life, and the Lives
“ of my Children. But if, on the contrary,
“ the Event be such as I have foretold, then
“ let your Children suffer Death, and you al-
“ so, if ever you return. If you refuse to ac-
“ cept

" cept these Conditions, and obstinately re-
 " solve to lead an Army into *Greece*, I venture
 " to affirm, that some of those you shall leave
 " in this Place, will certainly hear, that *Mar-*
 " *donius* having brought some fatal Disaster up-
 " on the Persians, was devour'd by Dogs and
 " Birds in the Territories of *Athens* or *Laceda-*
 " *mon*; or perhaps in his march thither; con-
 " vinc'd by too late Experience that the Gre-
 " cians are another Sort of Men than he had
 " represented them to the King." When *Artabanus* had thus spoken, *Xerxes* with Indig-
 nation replied: " *Artabanus*, said he, you
 " are my Father's Brother; and that Quality
 " alone exempts you from receiving the just Re-
 " compence of your foolish Discourse. Yet I
 " will set a Mark of Dishonour upon you;
 " and since you have shewn so much Cowardice
 " and unworthy Fear, you shall not accompany
 " me in my Expedition against *Greece*; but
 " shall stay behind among the Women, whilst
 " I accomplish my Designs without you. I
 " should not be the Son of *Darius* who deriv'd
 " his Blood from *Hystaspes*, *Arsames*, *Ariaram-*
 " *nes*, *Teispes*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, and *Achemenes*,
 " unless I can be aveng'd upon the Athenians.
 " I know too well that if we continue quiet,
 " they will find themselves Employment, and
 " enter our Territories with an Army. We
 " ought to judge of their future Enterprizes
 " by those that are pass'd. They have al-
 " ready burnt *Sardis*, and made Excursions
 " into *Asia*. Thus both Parties have advanc'd
 " too far to retreat, and must resolve either
 " to conquer or serve. All these Domini-
 " ons must fall under the Power of the Gre-

“cians, or their Country be an Accession
“to this Empire. For no Way can be found
“to extinguish our mutual Enmity. They
“have been the first Aggressors; and we can-
“not omit to take our Revenge, unless we de-
“termine to sacrifice our Glory. Besides, I
“would be inform'd upon the Place, what Mis-
“chiefs those Men can bring upon me, who
“were so entirely conquer'd by *Pelops* the
“Phrygian, a Servant of my Ancestors; that
“both the Inhabitants and the Country they
“possess, are still call'd by his Name.” With
these Words *Xerxes* ended his Speech. But
when Night came, reflecting on the Opinion
of *Artabanus*, he fell into great Perplexity;
and, as that time frequently suggests the best
Counsels, concluded at last, that a War against
Greece would not terminate to his Advantage.
Having thus alter'd his Resolution, he fell
asleep, and, according to the Report of the
Persians, saw in a Dream a Man of uncommon
Stature and Beauty standing by him, and utter-
ing these Words. “Have you then chang'd
“the Design you had form'd to lead an Army in-
“to *Greece*, after having given positive Orders
“to the Persians to assemble their Forces?
“You have not done well to alter your Re-
“solution; neither will you find any Man
“of your Opinion. Resume therefore with-
“out Delay the Enterprize you determin'd
“by Day to undertake.” The Phantom ha-
ving pronounc'd these Words disappear'd:
And the next Morning *Xerxes* neglecting his
Dream, summon'd the same Persons toge-
ther again, and said; “Pardon me, O Per-
“sians, if I now deliver an Opinion contrary
“to

“ to that I declar’d yesterday : For I have not
“ yet attain’d to a consummate Prudence in the
“ Conduct of my Affairs : Neither shall those
“ ever be absent from my Presence, who dis-
“ suade me from this Enterprize. When I heard
“ the Opinion of *Artabanus*, I broke out into
“ a sudden Passion, so incident to Youth ; and
“ threw out such Language against him, as
“ was neither fit for me to use, nor for a Per-
“ son of his Gravity to hear. But now ac-
“ knowledging my Error, I resolve to follow
“ his Advice : and therefore since I have laid
“ aside my Design of invading *Greece*, you
“ may enjoy the Advantages of Peace at
“ home.” When the Persians heard this,
they were transported with Joy, and prostra-
ted themselves before the King. But in the
following Night the same Phantom appear’d
again to *Xerxes* as he slept, and pronounc’d
these Words : “ Son of *Darius*, you seem to
“ have abandon’d the Thoughts of your in-
“ tended Expedition, and to make no more
“ account of my Admonition, than if I had
“ not spoken to you at all. Know then, that
“ unless you incessantly undertake this En-
“ terprize, you shall become mean and con-
“ temptible, in as little time as you have been
“ rais’d to Greatness and Power.” Terrified
with this Dream *Xerxes* hastily left his Bed ;
sent for *Artabanus*, and when he came, spoke
thus to him : “ *Artabanus*, I confess my Indif-
“ cretion, when I revil’d you with ill Lan-
“ guage for the good Counsel you gave me. But
“ soon repenting of my Rashness, I deter-
“ min’d to follow your Advice. Nevertheless,
“ whatever Inclination I have to do so, I find

“ the Execution impossible. For I had no
“ sooner alter’d my Resolution, and acknow-
“ ledg’d my Error, than I was admonish’d in
“ a Dream, that I could not desist from my
“ design’d Expedition without Shame: And
“ just now the Phantom appear’d again, pres-
“ sing me to the same Effect, and threatening the
“ greatest Calamities if I should fail. If God
“ be the Author of this Dream, and would
“ have our Expedition to *Greece* go forward,
“ you will see the same Vision I have had,
“ and receive the same Command. To this
“ end I think convenient that you should sit
“ in the Throne, cloth’d in all my Royal
“ Robes, and afterwards sleep in my Bed.”

Artabanus at first pray’d to be excus’d, as not
deserving the Honour of sitting on the King’s
Throne: But when he saw he could not pre-
vail, he did as *Xerxes* desir’d, after he had de-
liver’d his Sentiments in this manner. “ For
“ my part, said he, I have the same Esteem for
“ one who knows how to assent to the best
“ Advice, as for him who is able to be his own
“ Counsellor: I acknowledge both these Qua-
“ lities to be in you, O King, but cor-
“ rupted by the Suggestions of ill Men; like
“ the Sea, which of all these things is the most
“ useful to Mankind, yet when agitated by the
“ Violence of impetuous Winds, is sometimes
“ constrain’d to act contrary to its own Nature.
“ As for me, when I heard your Reproaches,
“ I was not so much concern’d for myself,
“ as griev’d to find that of two Opinions, one
“ of which tended no less to propagate Info-
“ lence, than the other to suppress it, and to
“ shew the Vanity of inuring the Mind in-
“ cessantly

“ cessantly to covet new Acquisitions, you had
“ chosen the worse and most dangerous to your
“ self and the Persians. Yet now, after you
“ have taken a better Resolution, and quitted
“ the Design of invading *Greece*, you say you
“ have seen a Vision, sent by some God to com-
“ mand you not to abandon your Enterprize.
“ But know, my Son, that this Dream is no-
“ thing less than divine: Men are frequently
“ misled by these Phantoms; and I, who have
“ liv’d many Years more than you, shall in-
“ struct you in the Nature of such Visions.
“ The things which have employ’d our Thoughts
“ by ‘Day,’ present themselves to us for the
“ most part in our Dreams. And you know
“ the warm Debate we have had for several
“ Days concerning the Expedition to *Greece*.
“ Now, if this be indeed a divine Message,
“ and not such a Dream as I conjecture, you
“ have said all in a word; and the Vision will
“ doubtless appear to me no less than to you,
“ and command me the same things. But I
“ can never imagine that this will rather come
“ to pass, if I should be cloth’d in your Robes,
“ and lie in your Bed; than if I wear my own
“ Garments, and sleep in my own Bed. For
“ that which you have seen in your Sleep,
“ whatever it be, can never arrive to such a
“ Degree of Stupidity, to mistake me for you,
“ upon exchanging our Apparel only. But if
“ the Spectre despise me, and think me un-
“ worthy of the same Vision, it will never ap-
“ pear to me, whether I be cloth’d in your
“ Robes, or in my own; but will certainly visit
“ you again; and then such an Event will de-
“ serve Consideration. For if you have the
“ same Dream frequently repeated, I myself

“ will confess it to be Divine. Nevertheless,
“ if you have resolv’d to proceed this way,
“ and will not be dissuaded from your Pur-
“ pose, I am contented to sleep in your Bed,
“ as you have order’d ; and then let the Phan-
“ tom appear to me also. But to that time
“ I shall persist in my present Opinion.” After
these Words, *Artabanus*, not doubting to shew
the Vanity of all that *Xerxes* had said, com-
plied with his Desires ; cloth’d himself in
the Royal Robes, and sat in the Throne. But
as he slept in the King’s Bed, the same Phan-
tom appear’d to him in a Dream, and said :
“ Art thou then the Man, who assuming the
“ Authority of a Governour, hast dissuaded
“ *Xerxes* from invading *Greece* ? But know,
“ that thou shalt not with Impunity contemn
“ the Decrees of Fate, either now or in time
“ to come : And as for *Xerxes*, he is suffici-
“ ently admonish’d of the Calamities he shall
“ suffer upon his Disobedience.” *Artabanus*
terrified with these Menaces, and observing in
his Dream that the Apparition advanc’d to burn
out his Eyes with a hot Iron, leap’d out of
Bed with loud Exclamations, and went im-
mediately to *Xerxes* ; where, after he had related
all the Particulars of the Vision he had seen, he
spoke to him in this manner : “ Having learnt
“ by Experience that the greatest Powers have
“ been frequently overthrown by small Forces,
“ I deliver’d my Opinion as a Man ; and
“ was unwilling to see you transported by
“ the violent Passions incident to your Age ;
“ well understanding the Dangers that at-
“ tend a boundless Ambition. I call’d to
“ mind the Fortune of that Army which *Cyrus*
“ led

“ Icd against the *Mcssagetc*s ; the Expedition
 “ of *Cambyses* against the *Æthiopians* ; and
 “ the Invasion of *Scythia*, in which I accom-
 “ panied your Father *Darius*. From the Con-
 “ sideration of these Misfortunes, I concluded
 “ you to be the most happy of all Men, if
 “ you would live in Peace. But since you are
 “ mov’d by a divine Impulse, and some great
 “ Disaster decreed by Heaven, seems ready to
 “ fall upon the *Grecians*, I change my Opinion,
 “ and shall contend no longer : Your Part
 “ therefore will be, to inform the *Persians* of
 “ this divine Message, and to command them
 “ to go on with their Preparations for War,
 “ according to your former Orders ; that no-
 “ thing of human Assistance may be wanting,
 “ to second the Favour of the God.” When
 he had said these Words, and both had deter-
 min’d to place an entire Confidence in the Visi-
 on ; *Xerxes* early the next Morning acquainted
 the *Persians* with what had happen’d, and *Artabanus*, the only Man who had openly disap-
 prov’d the Expedition, now appear’d most zeal-
 ous to promote it.

IN the mean time *Xerxes* having resolv’d to put himself at the Head of his Army, had another Dream ; which the Mages interpreted to relate to the whole World, and to signify that all Mankind should be reduc’d under his Power. For the King dreamt he saw himself crown’d with Twigs taken from an Olive-tree, which extended its Branches over all the Earth ; and that afterwards this Crown disappear’d from about his Head. Upon this Interpretation of the Mages, the *Persians* who were then assem-
 bled in Council, departed immediately to their

Several Governments, and with the utmost Diligence applied themselves to execute the King's Orders; every Man hoping to obtain the Recompence he had promis'd. All the Regions of the Continent were search'd, in order to compose this Army. For from the time of the Reduction of *Ægypt*, four whole Years were spent in assembling these Forces, and providing all things necessary for this Expedition. In the fifth Year *Xerxes* began his March with an incredible Number of Men. For this Army was so much greater than all others we ever heard of; that neither the Forces led by *Darius* against the Scythians; nor the Scythian Army, which entring *Media* in Pursuit of the Cimmerians, subdued almost all the upper *Asia*, and occasion'd the succeeding Attempt of *Darius*; nor that which under the Conduct of the Atrides march'd, as we are told, to the Siege of *Troy*; nor the joint Forces of the Myrians and Teucrians, who before the Trojan War, pass'd over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe*, subdu'd all *Thrace*, and advancing to the Ionian Sea, penetrated to the Southward as far as the River *Peneus*: In a word, not all these Armies in Conjunction, even tho' we should add divers others, were to be compar'd with this one of *Xerxes*. For what People of *Asia* did he exempt from sending Men to this Expedition against *Greece*? What Waters, except those of great Rivers, were unexhausted by his numerous Forces? Some Nations he commanded to fit out Ships; others were order'd to furnish Horse, and others Foot: Some were oblig'd to build Vessels for the Transportation of Horse; others to prepare long Barks for Bridges, and some

some to furnish Corn, with Ships to transport it. Three Years had been spent about Mount *Athos*, in contriving to prevent the like Disaster with that which befel the Persians formerly on that Coast. Their Ships had been order'd to the Port of *Eleus* in the *Chersonesus*; and all the Forces on board were compell'd by Turns to dig, and open a Passage thro the Mountain. The adjoining Inhabitants assisted them; and *Bubaris* the Son of *Megabyzus*, with *Artachæus* the Son of *Artæus*, both Persians, were the Directors of this Enterprize. *Athos* is a Mountain of great Fame and Magnitude, leaning upon the Sea, and well inhabited. It terminates to the Landward in the Form of a Peninsula, and makes an Isthmus of about twelve Stades in Length; containing a Plain with some Mixture of little Hills, from the Coast of *Acanthus* to that of *Torone*. On this Isthmus, which lies at the Foot of Mount *Athos*, stands *Sana* a Grecian City: But *Xerxes* determin'd to cut off from the Continent all the other Cities, which being built upon the Mountain, and beyond this Place, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus* and *Cleone*. The Operation was carried on in this manner. The Barbarians having drawn a Line before the City of *Sana*, divided the Ground among the several Nations: And when the Trench was considerably sunk, those who were in the Bottom continued to dig, and deliver'd the Earth to Men standing upon Ladders, who handed the same again to such as were plac'd in a higher Station, till at last others who waited to receive the Burden at the Edge of the Canal, carried it away to another Place. But

by

by digging in a perpendicular manner, and making the Bottom of equal Breadth with the Top, all the Workmen, except the Phœnicians, drew a double Labour upon themselves; because the Earth, as is natural, fell down continually in great Quantity from the upper Parts. The Phœnicians alone shew'd that Ability on this Occasion, of which they are so much Masters at all times: For they open'd the Part which was assign'd to their Care, twice as large as others had done; and sloping the Ground gradually till they came to the Bottom, they then found the Measure equal with the rest. In a Meadow adjoining to this Place they had a Court of Justice, and a Market furnish'd with great abundance of Corn brought even from *Asia*. My Conjectures lead me to think, that *Xerxes* undertook this Enterprize upon a Motive of Ostentation, in order to shew the Greatness of his Power, and to perpetuate the Memory of his Name. For tho he might have caus'd his Fleet to be convey'd over the Land without much Difficulty; yet he would rather command the Isthmus to be cut, and a Canal to be made to receive the Sea, of such a Breadth as might be sufficient to carry two Ships sailing in front. He likewise order'd the same Men, who had been employ'd in this Work, to lay a Bridge over the River *Strymon*; and commanded all manner of Cordage, and Stores necessary for Bridges, to be prepar'd with expedition. He issued Orders to the Phœnicians and Ægyptians to take in Provisions for the Army, that nothing might be wanting either for the Men or the Cattle, which were to be transported into *Greece*:

And

And having fully enquir'd into the Nature of each Country, he order'd every thing to be brought from the most proper Places of *Asia*, in Ships of great Burden, contriv'd on purpose for Transportation. Of these Provisions the greater Quantity was carried to that Part of *Thrace*, which goes by the Name of the *White Coast*. The rest was order'd to *Tyrodiza* of the Perinthians ; to *Doriscus* ; to *Eion* upon the *Strymon*, and to *Macedonia*. While these Men were employ'd in executing the Injunctions they had receiv'd, *Xerxes* having assembled his Army, parted from *Critale* in *Cappadocia*, and march'd to *Sardis* ; which was the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of all the Forces that were to accompany him from the Continent. But I cannot affirm who was the General that receiv'd the Rewards promis'd by the King, for bringing the best Troops into the Field ; being altogether uninform'd whether this Question were ever brought into Dispute. When the Army had pass'd the River *Halys*, they march'd thro *Phrygia*, and arriv'd at *Celæne*, where rise the Springs of the *Meander*, and of another River no less considerable, call'd the *Cataracts* ; which, beginning in the midst of the Place, flows afterwards into the *Meander* ; And where, if we may believe the Phrygians, the Skin of *Marsias* the Satyr is seen, pull'd off, and hung up there by *Apollo*. *Pythius* the Son of *Atys*, a Lydian, then residing in *Celæne*, entertain'd the King and all his Army with great Magnificence, and offer'd him his Treasures towards the Expence of the War : Which Liberality *Xerxes* communicating to the Persians about him, and asking, Who this *Pythius* was,

and

and what Riches he might have to enable him to make such an Offer, receiv'd this Answer: " *Pythius*, said they, is the Person, who " presented your Father *Darius* with a Plane- " tree and Vine of Gold: And, after you, is " the richest Man we know in the World."

Xerxes, surpriz'd with these last Words, ask'd him, to what Sum his Treasures might amount. " I shall conceal nothing from you, said *Py- thius*, nor pretend to be ignorant of my own " Wealth; but being perfectly inform'd of the " State of my Accompts, shall tell you the " Truth with Sincerity. When I heard you " were ready to begin your March towards " the Grecian Sea, I resolv'd to present you " with a Sum of Money towards the Charge " of the War; and to that end having taken " an Accompt of my Riches, I found by Com- " putation that I had two thousand Talents " of Silver, and three millions nine hundred " ninety three thousand Pieces of Gold, bear- " ing the Stamp of *Darius*. These Treasures " I freely give you, because I shall be suffi- " ciently furnish'd with whatever is necessary " to Life by the Labour of my Servants and " Husbandmen." *Xerxes* heard these Words with pleasure, and in answer to *Pythius*, said; " My Lydian Host, since I parted from *Susa*, " I have not found a Man besides yourself, who " has offer'd to entertain my Army, or volun- " tarily to contribute his Treasures to promote " the present Expedition. You alone have " treated my Army magnificently, and readily " offer'd me immense Riches: Therefore, in " return of your Kindness, I make you my " Host; and that you may be Master of the " entire

“ entire Sum of four Millions of Gold, I will
“ give you seven thousand Darien Pieces out of
“ my own Treasure. Keep then all the Riches
“ you now possess; and if you know how to
“ continue always in the same good Dispo-
“ sition, you shall never have Reason to repent
“ of your Affection to me, either now or in
“ future time.” When *Xerxes* had said this,
and taken care to see his Promise perform'd,
he continued his March; and passing by *Anaua*
a City of *Phrygia*, and a Lake famous for the
making of Salt, he arriv'd at *Colossa*, a consi-
derable City of the same Province; where the
River *Lycus* falling into an Aperture of the
Earth, disappears for the space of about five
Stades in Length; and then rising again runs
afterwards into the *Meander*. From this Place
the Army advanc'd to the City of *Cydra*, built
on the Borders of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*; where
an Inscription engrav'd on a Pillar, which was
erected by *Cræsus*, declares the Limits of each
Country. After they had enter'd the Territo-
ries of *Lydia*, they found the Way divided in-
to two Routes; one on the Left-hand leading
to *Caria*, the other on the Right, to *Sardis*.
Those who take the last of these Ways, are ne-
cessitated to pass the *Meander*, and to approach
the City of *Callatebus*, in which Honey is
made by Men, with Wheat and the Shrub
Myrice. *Xerxes* taking his March by this Way,
saw a Plane-tree so beautiful, that he adorn'd
it with Gold; and having committed the
Care of it to one of those Persians who go
under the Name of *Immortal*, arriv'd the next
day at *Sardis*, the Capital of *Lydia*. Upon his
Arrival in that City he sent Heralds to *Greece*,

with Orders to demand Earth and Water, and to require all the Cities, except *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, to provide every thing necessary for the King's Table; not doubting that the Terrour of his Arms would now induce all those to a ready Submission, who had formerly refus'd to comply with the like Demand, made on the part of his Father *Darius*. When *Xerxes* had dispatch'd these Heralds, he prepar'd to march towards *Abydus*; and in the mean time commanded a Bridge to be laid over the *Hellespont*, in order to pass into *Europe*. The Coast of the *Hellespont* in *Chersonesus*, which faces the City of *Abydus*, and stretches along the Sea between *Sestus* and *Madytus*, is uneven, and of difficult Access. In that Place, sometime after this Enterprize, *Xanthippus* the Son of *Ariphron*, an Athenian Commander, took *Artayctes*, the Persian Governor of *Sestus*, and empal'd him alive, for constraining the Women to enter into the Temple of *Protesilaus* in *Eleus*, and there committing the most execrable Crimes. The Bridge was begun at *Abydus*, by Men appointed to that end, and carried on to the opposite Coast; which is seven Stades distant from that City; the Phœnicians making use of Cordage of white Hemp, and the Ægyptians of another sort called *Byblus*. But no sooner had they finish'd the Bridge, than a violent Storm arising, broke in pieces, and dispeis'd the whole Work: Which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into such a Transport of Anger, that he commanded three hundred Stripes to be inflicted on the Back of the Waters, and a Pair of Fetterers to be let down into the *Hellespont*. I have heard, he likewise order'd

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that

that Sea to be branded with Marks of Infamy. But nothing is more certain, than that he strictly enjoyn'd those who were entrusted with the Execution of his Orders, to pronounce these barbarous and impertinent Words : “ O thou salt and bitter Water! thy Master has condemn'd thee to this Punishment, for offending him without Cause, and is resolv'd to pass over thee in despite of thy Insolence. With reason all Men neglect to sacrifice to thee, because thou art both disagreeable and treacherous.” Thus having commanded the *Hellespont* to be chastised, he order'd the Heads of those who had the Direction of the Workmen to be taken off; which was all the Recompence they had for contriving the Bridge. In their place other Architects were employ'd, who prepar'd two Bridges in the following manner : They brought three hundred and sixty Gallies into a Line, board by board, and facing the *Euxin* Sea. On the other hand they plac'd three hundred and fourteen more, with their Sides turned towards the *Euxin*, and their Heads to the Current of the *Hellespont*, in order to preserve the Cordage entire. This done, they drop'd their main Anchors, to secure the Vessels on one side against the Force of those Winds that blow from the *Euxin*, and on the other, from the South and Easterly Winds of the *Ægean* Sea; leaving three several Passages open to the Eastward, for the Convenience of those who should desire to pass from the *Euxin*, or to return thither. After that, they fasten'd Cables to the Shoar, and straining them with Engines of Wood prepar'd for that purpose, bound the Vessels together :

together, allowing only two Ropes of white Hemp for every four made of *Byblus*. For tho the Thickness and Shape was the same, yet the former were of much greater Strength ; every Cubit weighing a full Talent. Having carried on these Lines of Ships from one Shoar to the other, they cover'd the Cordage with Pieces of Timber, cut exactly to the Breadth of the Bridges, and strongly compacted together. Upon these again they laid Planks of Wood rang'd in order ; and having thrown a Covering of Earth on the Top, they rais'd a Barrier on each side, that the Horses and other Cattle might not be terrified at the sight of the Sea. When the Bridges were finish'd, and the Canal at Mount *Athos* secur'd by a Bank of Earth thrown up at each End, to prevent the Floods from choaking the Passage with Sand ; the Army being inform'd that all things were ready, departed from *Sardis*, where they had winter'd, and directed their March towards *Abydus*. But as they were on the way thither, the Sun quitting his Seat in the Heavens, disappear'd ; and tho the Air was perfectly serene, and free from Clouds, a sudden Night ensu'd in the place of Day : Which *Xerxes* observing with Surprize, and no little Anxiety, enquir'd of the Mages what might be the meaning of the Prodigy. They answer'd, That the God by this Presage plainly foretold the Destruction of the Grecian Cities ; because the Sun was the Protector of *Greece*, and the Moon of the Persians. *Xerxes* pleas'd with their Interpretation, resolv'd to continue his March : And as the Army was ready to advance, *Pythius* the Lydian, partly terrified by the late Aspect of the Heavens,

Heavens, and partly confiding in the Merit of his liberal Offer, went to the King, and spoke to him in these terms : “ SIR, Will you “ condescend to grant me a thing I desire ? “ ‘Tis of little Consequence to you, and of “ great Importance to me.” *Xerxes*, suspecting nothing less than what he design’d to ask, assur’d him he would grant his Request, and bid him ask freely. Upon which, *Pythius* taking Confidence ; “ SIR, said he, I have five Sons, “ and they are all in your Army, ready to at- “ tend you in this Expedition against *Greece*. “ Pity my Age, and exempt my eldest Son from “ the present Service, that he may take care “ of me, and of my Estate. Let the rest fol- “ low your Fortune ; and when you have ac- “ complish’d your Designs, may you return “ home in Safety.” The King, transported with Indignation at these Words, answer’d : “ Unworthy Man ! How dar’st thou mention “ thy Son, when thou see’st me going to hazard “ my Person, my Children, my Brothers, and “ my Friends ? Thou, I say, who art my Slave, “ and bound in duty to follow me with all thy “ Family, and even with thy Wife. Know “ then, that the Spirit of a Man resides in his “ Ears ; from whence, as the Pleasure of hear- “ ing things grateful is diffus’d thro the whole “ Body, so the contrary is irksome and grievous to every Part. When you did well, “ and promis’d to continue in the same good “ Disposition, you had nevertheless no rea- “ son to boast of having surpass’d the King “ in Liberality. Neither shall you now, up- “ on this Change of your Manners, suffer “ that Punishment which your Impudence de-

“ serves. Thy first Merit has sav’d four of thy Sons; and thy Folly has destroy’d the other, who is so dear to thee.” Having finish’d these Words, *Xerxes* commanded the proper Officers to find out the eldest Son of *Pythius*, and to cut his Body into two Parts; one of which they were order’d to lay on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left of the Way, that the Army might pass between both. When they had put the King’s Command in execution, the Forces began to move in the following Order. The Baggage, with the Servants, first appear’d in the Front, and were follow’d by Men of all Nations, form’d into a Body without Distinction, and amounting to more than one half of the Army. Behind these an Interval was left, that they might not mix with that Part where the King was. Before him march’d a thousand Horsemen, chosen among all the Persians; and next to them, a thousand more of the same Nation, Men equally well chosen, and bearing Javelins pointing downwards. After these came ten great Horses, bred in the spacious Plain of the Median *Nisa*, adorn’d with the richest Furniture, and consecrated to *Jupiter*. The Chariot of the God immediately follow’d, drawn by eight white Horses, the Driver on foot holding the Reins, because no Mortal is permitted to mount the Seat. Then *Xerxes* himself appear’d on a Chariot drawn by *Nisan* Horses, and driven by *Patiramphes* the Son of *Otanes*, a Persian. He departed from *Sardis* in this Equipage, and chang’d his Chariot for a lighter as often as he saw convenient. A thousand Spearmen of the bravest and most noble among the Persians,

march'd next to the King, carrying their Arms after the manner of that Country ; and were follow'd by another Body of Horse consisting of a thousand more, all chosen Men of the same Nation. After the Horse ten thousand Persian Foot advanc'd ; and of these one thousand arm'd with Javelins, which were adorn'd on the uppermost Joint with Pomegranats of Gold instead of the common Ornament, border'd the other nine thousand ; whose Javelins carried a Pomegranat of Silver on the same Joint. All those who march'd nearest to the Person of the King, and turn'd the Points of their Arms towards the Ground, had Pomegranats of Gold in like manner on their Javelins. The ten thousand Foot were follow'd by ten thousand Persian Horse ; and after an Interval of two Stades, all the rest of the Forces came on promiscuously. Thus the Army marching from *Lydia*, arriv'd at the River *Caicus* in *Mysia* ; and leaving the Mountain *Cana* on the Left, pass'd thro *Atarneus*, to the City *Carina*. From thence they advanc'd into the Plains of *Thebes* ; and passing by the Cities of *Adramyttium* and the Pelasgian *Antandrus*, enter'd the Country of *Ilium*, having Mount *Ida* on the Left-hand. But as they pass'd the Night at the Foot of that Mountain, many of their Men were destroy'd by Thunder and Lightning. When they arriv'd on the Banks of the *Scamander*, the Waters were not found sufficient for the Men and for the Cattle, tho that River was the greatest they had yet seen in their March. Here *Xerxes* being desirous to take a View of the adjacent Places, went up to the Tower of *Priamus* ; and

when he had satisfied his Curiosity, and enquir'd into divers Particulars, he sacrific'd a thousand Oxen to the Ilian *Minerva*, and the Mages pour'd out a Libation in honour of the Heroes. But notwithstanding this, a panick Terrour seizing upon the Army in the following Night, caus'd them to break up early the next Morning. So passing by the Cities of *Rætium*, *Ophrynum* and *Dardanus*, which were on the Left, and leaving the Gergithians and Teucrians at a greater distance on the Right, they advanc'd to *Abydus*. When *Xerxes* was arriv'd in that City, he desir'd to see all his Forces together: And to that end, ascending a stately Edifice of white Stone, which the Abydenians, in obedience to a former Command, had built to receive him in a manner suitable to his Greatness, he had a free Prospect of the Coast, and from his Seat saw at one View both his Fleet and his Land-Army. Having given himself this Satisfaction, and desiring to be Spectator of a Sea-fight, he commanded all things to be made ready for that purpose; in which he was presently obey'd: And having adjug'd the Victory to the Sidonian Phœnicians, he shew'd himself exceedingly pleas'd, as well with this Spectacle, as with the View of his Forces. Then turning his Eyes upon the *Hellespont*, and seeing that Sea cover'd with his Ships, and all the Plain of *Abydus* down to the Sea full of Men, he seem'd at first to be much delighted; but afterwards wept. Which when his Uncle *Artabanus* perceiv'd, he said to him with the same Liberty he had us'd in dissuading him from invading *Greece*: “ SIR, your Actions are not uniform: “ In

“ In a few Moments you have pass’d from
 “ an Excess of Joy to shedding Tears.” The
 King answer’d : “ When I consider’d the
 “ Shortness of human Life, I could not re-
 “ strain the Effects of my Compassion : For of
 “ all these Numbers of Men, not one shall sur-
 “ vive a hundred Years. But, reply’d *Artab-*
“ banus, are we not expos’d, during our Lives,
 “ to other things much more to be lamented ?
 “ Is any Man so happy, either among these,
 “ or other Men, who even in this short
 “ Course of Life, would not often chuse ra-
 “ ther to die than to live ? The frequent Ca-
 “ lamities and Diseases incident to all, so
 “ disturb the best of our Days, that Life, tho'
 “ really short, yet seems of a tedious Length ;
 “ and Death remains the only desirable Refuge
 “ of unhappy Mortals. But the Gods, from
 “ a Motive of Envy, have infus’d a certain
 “ Sweetness into Life, in order to delude
 “ Mankind. *Artabanus,* said the King, since
 “ the Condition of human Life is such as you
 “ have describ’d, let us say no more on that
 “ Subject ; but rejecting all sad Reflections, en-
 “ tertain ourselves with the promising Hopes
 “ we have now in view. Be plain with me ;
 “ if you had not seen the Vision you saw so
 “ evidently in your Dream, would you still
 “ persist in your first Opinion, and continue
 “ to dissuade me from making War against
 “ *Greece* ? Tell me the Truth with Freedom
 “ and Sincerity.” To this Question *Artabanus*
 answer’d : “ May the Event of my Dream be
 “ such as we both desire ; nevertheless my Fears
 “ are still so prevalent with me, that I am not Ma-
 “ ster of myself. Upon Reflection I have found

“ divers things very contrary to your Designs,
“ and especially two, which are of the greatest
“ Consequence. “ Poor Man, said *Xerxes* ; and
“ what may those two things be, that are so
“ contrary to my Designs ? Is our Land-
“ Army deficient in Numbers ? Will the Gre-
“ cians bring greater Forces into the Field ?
“ Or is our Fleet inferior to that of *Greece* ?
“ Or, in a word, are our Enemies superi-
“ our in both ? If you think so, we can easi-
“ ly add to the Strength of our Forces.”
“ SIR, answer’d *Artabanus*, no Man of com-
“ mon Understanding can think contemptibly,
“ either of your Land-Forces, or of the Num-
“ ber of your Ships. And if these should
“ be augmented, the two things I intended
“ would become more contrary to your Af-
“ fairs than they are at present. By these
“ two things I mean the Sea and the Land.
“ For, as I conjecture, no Harbour can be
“ found in any Part, sufficient to receive and
“ protect your whole Fleet, if a Storm should
“ arise : And yet one is not enough : your
“ Affairs require many on every Coast of
“ the Continent, to which this Expedition
“ will lead you. Since therefore you can have
“ no safe Harbour for such a Fleet, you will
“ do well to remember, that Men are in the
“ Power of Fortune, and not Fortune in the
“ Power of Men. Having thus explain’d one
“ of the two things I propos’d, I shall pro-
“ ceed to the other. The Land will be your
“ Enemy many ways ; and still the more for-
“ midable, the farther you are permitted to
“ advance without Resistance, and to carry
“ all before you. Men are always unwilling to
“ stop

" stop in the Career of Success : And if you
 " meet with no Opposition, Famine will pro-
 " bably overtake you, after you have spent
 " much time in penetrating far into a vast
 " Country. He only is truly wise and valiant,
 " who with the utmost Caution considers every
 " thing that may obstruct his Designs ; and
 " after the maturest Deliberation, boldly exe-
 " cutes the Enterprizes he has form'd." To
 this *Xerxes* answer'd : " *Artabanus*, your Di-
 " course concerning these Particulars is ra-
 " tional ; yet we must not fear all things, nor
 " examine every Circumstance with such Strict-
 " ness. For if we should enter into so nice
 " a Discussion of all our Affairs, we should
 " never do any thing. Bold and daring Eu-
 " terprizes, tho attended with one half of all
 " the Evils that can possibly ensue, are pre-
 " ferable to Inaction, however safe. After
 " all, he who disapproves and opposes every
 " thing, without proposing something better,
 " is no less worthy of Blame, than one who
 " contradicts without reason : And I am of o-
 " pinion, that no Mortal can determine with
 " certainty concerning the Event of human
 " Affairs. Experience shews, that those who
 " resolve to push boldly, are for the most part
 " successful ; whereas those, who act with so
 " much Caution, and form so many Difficul-
 " ties, very rarely do any thing with Advan-
 " tage. You see to how high a Degree of Pow-
 " er the Persians have attain'd : Which could
 " never have been, if the Kings, my Prede-
 " cessors, had entertain'd such Thoughts as you
 " have ; or had not met with Councillors of
 " another sort, to dissuade them from such Opi-
 " nions.

“nions. By despising the Dangers that
“threatned, they arriv'd to this Height of
“Grandeur. And indeed, great Successes
“are no otherwise to be obtain'd, than by
“adventuring boldly. We will therefore en-
“deavour to imitate our Ancestors; and en-
“tring upon Action in the most agreeable Sea-
“son of the Year, we intend to subdue all Eu-
“rope, and afterwards to return home, with-
“out suffering by Famine, or any other Mis-
“fortune. For we not only carry a vast Quan-
“tity of Provisions with us, but shall be Mas-
“ters of all the Corn that grows in the Coun-
“tries we are about to invade, which are in-
“habited by Husbandmen, and not by Gra-
“siers.” *Artabanus* having heard this Answer
of *Xerxes*, said: “SIR, since you will not per-
“mit me to fear the Success of your Enter-
“prise, yet hearken to my Counsel in another
“thing, and excuse me, if having many things
“to say, I am necessitated to extend my Dis-
“course to a farther length. *Cyrus* the Son of
“*Cambyses* constrain'd all the Ionians, the A-
“thenians only excepted, to be Tributaries of
“the Persians. I advise you therefore, not to
“lead these Men against their Fathers, upon
“any Motive whatever: Especially since we
“have Forces more than sufficient to subdue our
“Enemies without their Assistance. For if
“they accompany you in this Expedition, one
“of these two things must happen; either
“they will be so base and wicked, to enslave
“their Mother-City, or so just and honest, to
“contribute all their Endeavours to preserve its
“Liberty. If they should be unfaithful to that
“Country, from which they derive their Ori-
“ginal,

“ ginal, what can we expect from such Men ? .
“ And if they should do their Duty, what
“ Mischiefs might they not bring upon your
“ Army ? In conclusion, bear always in your
“ mind this antient Saying, which will be
“ eternally true, That no Man is able to judge
“ with certainty of the Issue of things, what-
“ ever the Beginning may be. *Artabanus*, re-
“ plied *Xerxes*, you are in nothing so much de-
“ ceiv’d, as in the Suspicion you have of the
“ Ionians. You, and all those who invaded *Scy-*
“ *thia* under my Father *Darius*, must own, that
“ they gave the most certain Proof of their Af-
“ fection to us, when having in their power
“ to save or destroy the whole Army of the
“ Persians, they refus’d to violate their Faith,
“ or do any thing that might be prejudicial to
“ our Nation. Besides, they have left their
“ Children, their Wives, and their Possessions,
“ in our Territories ; which are the surest Pled-
“ ges of their Fidelity. Fear nothing therefore
“ of that sort ; but be easy, and prepare to take
“ upon you the Care of my Family, and of my
“ Government. For of all Men, you are the
“ only Person I resolve to entrust with my Au-
“ thority.” After this Discourse, *Xerxes* dis-
miss’d *Artabanus* with Orders to return to *Susa* ;
and having again assembled the principal Men
among the Persians, he spoke to this purpose :
“ I have called you together at this time, to ex-
“ hort you to acquit yourselves like Men of
“ Courage, without blemishing the great and
“ glorious Actions of your Ancestors. Let
“ every one therefore in particular, and all of
“ us in conjunction, shew our Alacrity and Re-
“ solution in this Enterprize, which is under-
“ taken

“ taken for the common Good. But I could not
 “ omit to incite you in a peculiar manner to
 “ shew your Fortitude in this War ; because
 “ I am inform'd, that our Enemies are a brave
 “ and warlike People ; and that if we conquer
 “ them, no other Army will dare to oppose us.
 “ Prepare then to pass the Sea, after we have
 “ recommended ourselves to the Care of those
 “ Gods who are the Protectors of *Perſia*.

THE rest of the Day was spent in disposing all things, in order to their Passage : And waiting the rising of the next Sun, they in the mean time burnt all sorts of Perfumes upon the Bridges, and strow'd the Way with Myrtles. When the Sun was risen, *Xerxes* pouring a Libation into the Sea out of a golden Cup, address'd a Prayer to the Sun, “ That he might not meet with any Impediment so great, as to hinder him from carrying his conquering Arms to the utmost Limits of *Europe*.” After which he threw the Cup into the *Helleſpont*, with a Bowl of Gold, and a Persian Scymeter. But I cannot determine whether his Intention was to consecrate these things to the Sun, or whether he made this Donation to the *Helleſpont*, by way of Satisfaction for the Stripes he had inflicted on that Sea. After this Ceremony, all the Foot and Horse of the Army pass'd over that Bridge, which was next to the *Euxin* ; while the Servants and Draught-horses, with the Baggage, pass'd over the other, which was plac'd nearer to the *Ægean* Sea. The ten thousand Persians I mention'd before, led the Van, with Crowns on their Heads, and were followed by Troops promiscuously compos'd of all Nations. These pass'd

pass'd the first Day. On the second, those Horse, who carried their J. velins pointed to the Ground, pass'd over first, wearing Crowns likewise. Then came the sacred Horses, the sacred Chariot; and *Xerxes* himself, followed by the Spearmen and one thousand Horse. All the rest of the Army clos'd the March; and at the same time the Ships made to the Coast of *Europe*. I have heard that *Xerxes* march'd in the Rear of all. But however that be, he saw his Forces compell'd by Blows to pass over the Bridge; which yet was not effected in less than seven Days and seven Nights, tho they continued to pass without Intermission during all that time. After his Landing, a certain Man of that Country, as is said, cried out; "O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy "Greece, in the Shape of a Persian, and un- "der the Name of *Xerxes*, with all Mankind "following thee; whereas thy own Power is "sufficient to do this without their Assis- "tance?" When the Army began to march, a prodigious thing happen'd, yet not difficult to be understood, tho altogether neglected by *Xerxes*. A Mare cast a Hare instead of a Colt: From which one might easily conjecture, that after *Xerxes* had transported a mighty Army into *Greece* with great Vanity and Osten- tation, he should be afraid for his own Life, and run away to the Place from whence he came. Another Prodigy had been seen before, during the time he staid at *Sardis*, where a Mule brought forth a Colt, with the Parts both of a Male and a Female, tho the former appear'd more perfect. But *Xerxes* slighting both these Events, continued to advance with his Land-

Land-Forces; while the Fleet at the same time sailing out of the *Hellespont*, coasted along by the Shoar, and kept on a quite different Course. For they stood to the Westward for the Promontory of *Sarpedon*; where they were commanded to attend farther Orders: But the Land-Forces march'd by the way of *Chersonesus*, facing the East and the rising Sun. Then leaving the Sepulchre of *Hella*, the Daughter of *Athamas*, on the Right-hand, and the City of *Cardia* on the Left, they pass'd through a Place call'd *Agora*; and from thence bending their March towards the Gulph *Melana*, they exhausted the Waters of a River bearing the same Name, and left the Channel dry. After they had pass'd this River, they march'd Westward; and passing by *Aenus*, an *Æolian* City, and the Lake *Sten-toris*, they arriv'd at *Dorisus*. The Shoar of this Part of *Thrace* is of easy access, and opens into a large Plain, divided by the Streams of the great River *Hebrus*. In that Plain stands the City of *Dorisus*, encompass'd by a Royal Wall, and kept by a Persian Garrison plac'd there by *Darius* when he made War against the Scythians. *Xerxes* judging this Place convenient for reviewing and numbring his Forces, commanded the Sea-Captains to bring all their Ships to the Shoar that lay nearest to *Dorisus*, where the Cities of *Sala*, *Samothracia* and *Zona*, are situate, with another called *Serrium*, built upon a famous Promontory, formerly belonging to the Ciconians. When they had brought the Ships to Land, thosc who were employ'd in that Work, were permitted to rest; and in the mean time *Xerxes* viewed his Army in the Plain of *Dorisus*. What Proportion of Men

Men each Nation furnish'd to this Expedition, I cannot affirm, because they are not enumerated by any Writer: But nothing is more certain, than that the Land-Forces amounted to the full Number of seventeen hundred thousand. For they were computed in this manner: Ten thousand Men being first drawn out into one Place, and crowded as close together as might possibly be, were encompass'd with a Circle trac'd upon the Ground: After which they were order'd to retire, and a sort of Hedge was planted upon the Circle, to the Height of a Man's Middle. When this was done, they caus'd another Ten thousand to enter the Ground; and continued to proceed in the same manner, till they had computed the whole Army. Then they divided all the Troops nationally into distinct Bodies, which I shall here describe, with their Arms and Clothing. In the first place, the Persians wearing a Tiara on the Head, so thick as to be accounted impenetrable; and on the Body a Coat of Mail, wrought with Iron to the likeness of the Scales of a Fish, and adorn'd with Sleeves of various Colours. Their Thighs were not undefended; and instead of a Shield, they carried a Target of Cane strongly compacted; which serv'd also to cover their Quiver. Their Javelins were short, their Bows long, their Arrows were made of Cane, and their Swords hung down from a Belt on the Right-side. They were commanded by *Otanes*, the Father of *Amestris*, the Wife of *Xerxes*. In antient times the Persians were by the Grecians called Cephenes, and by themselves and nearest Neighbours, Artæans: But *Perseus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*,

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coming

coming to *Cepheus* the Son of *Belus*, married his Daughter *Andromeda*, and by her had a Son, whom he named *Perseus*, and afterwards left with *Cepheus*, because he had no Male Child; and from him they took the Name of Persians. The Medes were arm'd and cloth'd in the same manner: For the Furniture I have describ'd, belongs properly to the Medes, and not to the Persians. They march'd under the Conduct of *Tigranes*, who was of the Achæmenian Family. The Medes were antiently called Arians by all Nations; but chang'd their Name, as they say themselves, when *Medea* of *Colchis* arriv'd from *Athens* in their Country. The Cissians appearing in every thing like the Persians, except only that they wore Mitres on their Heads, were led by *Anaphes* the Son of *Otanes*. The Hyrcanians were also arm'd after the Persian manner, and commanded by *Megapanus*, who was afterwards Governour of *Babylon*. The Assyrians had Helmets of Brass to cover their Heads, contriv'd in so strange a Fashion, as is not easy to be describ'd: Every one had a Buckler, a Javelin, and a short Sword after the manner of the Ægyptians, with a Pectoral made of Flax, and a Truncheon of Wood pointed with Iron. By the Grecians they are call'd Syrians; and by the Barbarians, Assyrians. Among these the Chaldæans were accounted, and *Otaspes* the Son of *Artachæus* was their Leader. The Bactrians had Turbans on their Heads, not unlike those of the Medes; and carried Bows made of Cane after the manner of their Country, with a kind of Javelin very short. The Saces, or rather Scythians, wore a Cap rising to a Point in the Form of

of a Pyramid: They had also Thigh-pieces; and for Arms, carried a sort of Bow peculiar to their Nation, with a Dagger, a Bill, and a Scymeter. They came from *Amyrgium* in *Scythia*: but the Persians call them Saces, which is the common Name they give to all the Scythians. The Bactrians and Saces were led by *Hystaspes*, Son of *Darius* by *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*. The Indians cover'd with a Casque of Wood, and carrying a Bow, and Arrows of Cane pointed with Iron, were commanded by *Pharnazathres* the Son of *Artabates*. The Arians had Bows made like those of the Medes; and in all other things resembling the Bactrians, march'd under the Conduct of *Sisamnes* the Son of *Hydarnes*. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians and Dadicians, appear'd in the same Arms and Clothing as the Bactrians, under the following Leaders: *Artabazus*, the Son of *Pharnaces*, commanded the Parthians and the Chorasmians: *Azanes* the Son of *Artæus*, the Sogdians; and *Artyphius* the Son of *Artabanus*, the Gandarians and Dadicians. The Caspians cloth'd in Goat-skins, and arm'd with a Scymeter, and with a Bow made of Cane, after the manner of their Country, had for their Captain *Ariomardus* the Brother of *Artyphius*. The Saranges magnificently dress'd in Garments of the richest Colours, and Buskins drawn up to the Knee, carried a Bow and Javelins, like those of the Medes; and were led by *Pherendates* the Son of *Megabyzus*: The Paætyans clothed likewise in Goat-skins, had a Bow and a short Sword peculiar to that Country, and were commanded by *Atrayntes* the Son of *Itramites*. The Utians, Mycians and Pari-

Paricanians, arm'd and cloth'd like the Paftyans, march'd under the following Captains: *Arsamenes* the Son of *Darius* led the Utians and Mycians; and *Siromitres* the Son of *Oebazus*, the Paricanians. The Arabians wore a Girdle over a Surcoat call'd *Zeira*; and in the Right-hand carried a crooked Bow of great Length. The Æthiopians were cover'd with the Skins of Lions and Leopards, and arm'd with Bows full four Cubits long, made of the Branches of the Palm-tree, with Arrows of Cane proportionable, and pointed, instead of Iron, with a sharp Stone, of that sort they use for Seals. They had also Javelins pointed with Goats-horns sharpen'd like the End of a Lance, and Truncheons arm'd with Iron. When they are about to engage in Battle, they paint one half of their Bodies with white Plaster, and the other half with Vermillion. The Arabians, and these Æthiopians, who inhabit above Ægypt, were commanded by *Arsames* the Son of *Darius* by *Artystona* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, whose Image *Darius* caus'd to be made of solid Gold, because he lov'd her more than all his other Wives. But the Æthiopians, who inhabit more Easterly (for *Xerxes* had of both sorts in his Army) march'd with the Indians, no way unlike the others, except only in the Sound of their Voice, and in their Hair. For the Oriental Æthiopians have long streight Hair: But the Hair of the Lybian Æthiopians is more curl'd than that of any other People. The Arms and Habit of the Asiatick Æthiopians were almost the same with those of the Indians: But instead of a Helmet, they wore the Skin of a Horse's Head, stript off with the Ears and

Mane;

Mane; and contriv'd in such a manner, that the Mane might serve for a Crest; while the Ears appear'd erected on the Head of the Man. They were also defended by a Buckler, which they cover'd with the Skins of Cranes. The Libyans had Coats made of Leather, carried a pointed Lance harden'd at one end by the Fire, and were under the Conduct of *Musanges* the Son of *Aorizus*. The Paphlagonians wore Helmets compos'd of divers Pieces quilted together; they had a Buckler and Javelins of a moderate Size, with Darts and a short Sword: On their Feet they wore Shoes after the manner of their Country, reaching up to the middle of the Leg. The Ligyans, the Matienians and the Mariandynians, with those Syrians, who by the Persians are call'd Cappadocians, were arm'd and cloth'd as the Paphlagonians. The Matienians and the Paphlagonians were led by *Dotus* the Son of *Megasides*; and the Mariandynians, with the Ligyans and Syrians, by *Gobryas* the Son of *Darius* and *Artystona*. The Phrygians carried Arms little differing from those of the Paphlagonians: This People, if we may believe the Macedonians, went under the Name of Brygians, during all the time they inhabited in *Europe*, within the Territories of *Macedonia*; but upon their Arrival in *Asia*, chang'd their Name with their Country, and have ever since been call'd Phrygians. The Armenians, being a Colony of the Phrygians, appear'd in the same Accoutrements; and both these Nations were commanded by *Artochmes*, who had married a Daughter of *Darius*. The Lydians were arm'd more like to the Grecians than any other People of the Army: They had been

formerly known by the Name of Meonians ; but were afterwards call'd Lydians from *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*. The Mysians had a sort of Helmet peculiar to their Country, with a little Buckler, and pointed Javelins harden'd at the end by Fire. They are a Colony of the Lydians, and are call'd Olympians from the Mountain *Olympus*. Both these Nations were led by *Artaphernes*, the Son of that *Artaphernes* who, with *Datis*, commanded the Persian Forces at the Battle of *Marathon*. The Thracians cover'd their Heads with a Cap made of the Skins of Foxes, and their Bodies with a Vest, and Surcoat of various Colours : They had Buskins tied with Thongs above the Ankle, and a small Buckler made in the form of a Half-moon, with Javelins and a short Dagger. They have gone under the Name of Bithynians ever since they arriv'd in *Asia* ; and if we may believe their own Report, were formerly call'd Strymonians, from the River *Strymon*, where they inhabited, and from whence they were expell'd by the Mysians and by the Teucrians. Those Thracians, who in *Asia* retain'd their original Name, were commanded by *Bargafaces* the Son of *Artabanus*. They carried a small Buckler compos'd of untann'd Hides, with two Lycian Javelins, and a Helmet of Brass, having the Ears and Horns of an Ox of the same Metal. They wore a Crest at the Top of their Helmet, and their Legs were cover'd with Phœnician Cloth. They have an Oracle of *Mars* in their Country. The Meonian Cabelians, who are also call'd Lasiarians, had the same Arms and Clothing with the Cilicians ; which I shall describe when I come to speak of that Nation.

Nation. The Mylians carried short Lances, and were cloth'd in a Garment buckled together. Some of them had Lyçian Bows, and a Cap compos'd of Skins. All these were commanded by *Badres* the Son of *Hystanes*. The Moschians had a Helmet of Wood, with a little Buckler, and Javelins of a like proportion, but deeply pointed. The Tiberenians, Macronians and Mosynœcians were arm'd as the Moschians, who with the Tiberenians march'd under the Conduit of *Ariomardus*, the Son of *Darius* by *Parmys* the Daughter of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*. But the Macronians and Mosynœcians were led by *Artayetes*, the Son of *Cherasmis*, and Governour of *Sestus* on the *Hellefpong*. The Marians wore a Cap strongly quilted, after the manner of their Country, and carried Javelins, with a little Shield cover'd with Skins. The Colchians had a Helmet of Wood, with a Buckler made of untann'd Hides, a short Lance, and a cutting Sword. The Forces of these two Nations had for their Leader *Pherendates* the Son of *Theaspes*. The Allarodians and the Saspirians, arm'd like the Colchians, march'd under the Command of *Masistius* the Son of *Siromitres*. The People that inhabit the Islands of the *Red-Sea*, to which the King usually sends the Persons he resolves to banish, were cloth'd and arm'd like the Medes, and led by *Mardonites*, the Son of *Bagæus*, who was kill'd two Years after at the Battle of *Mycale*. These were the Nations that compos'd the Army, which was to be employ'd on the Continent; and these were the Names of their Leaders, who divided and numbered all the Forces, and had the Power of appointing the Commanders

ders of a Thousand, and of ten Thousand : But those who had the Command of ten Thousand, were permitted to nominate the Centurions and Decurions. Thus these national Forces had their inferior Officers ; and those I have mention'd were their Commanders in chief. But the superior Generals of the Land-my, were, *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobryas* ; *Trintatæchmes*, the Son of *Artabanus* who gave his Opinion against the War ; *Smerdones* the Son of *Otanes* (both Sons to the Brothers of *Darius*, and Cousins to *Xerxes*;) *Masistes* the Son of *Darius* by *Ateffa* ; *Gergys* the Son of *Ariazus* ; and *Megabyzus* the Son of *Zopyrus*. These were Captain-Generals of all the Army, except the ten Thousand Persians, who obey'd no other Commander than *Hydarnes*, the Son of *Hydarnes*; and were surnam'd *Immortal*; because upon the Death of any one of their Number, whether by War or Sickness, another is presently substituted in his Place : So that they never amount to more or less than ten Thousand. They were accounted the most valiant among the Persians ; and tho in their Arms and Habit they were like the rest of their Countrymen, yet they were more magnificent, and adorn'd with Gold in abundance. Besides, they had Chariots for their Women with their Attendants, who were richly cloth'd ; and their Provisions were brought upon Camels and other Beasts of Burden, appropriated to their own Use. All the Nations I have mention'd, are accustom'd to mount on Horseback ; but none were furnish'd with Horses, except those which I shall enumerate. First, the Persians ; who were no otherwise arm'd than their Foot ; except only that some

some of them wore a Helmet of Brass or Iron. The Sagartians; who are Breeders of Cattle, of Persian Extraction and Language; but arm'd and cloth'd in a manner participating both of the Persian and Paetian Fashion; furnish'd eight thousand Horsemen to this Expedition. They had no Weapon either of Iron or Brass, except a short Sword; carrying only a kind of Net made of Cord, instead of all other Arms; and exposing their Persons in War, without any other Defence. When they approach the Enemy, they throw their Net and have taken either a Man or a Horse, they easily dispatch whatever is so intangled. In this manner they behave themselves in Fight; and being accounted Persians, were drawn up in the same Body. The Median and Cissian Horse were no otherwise equip'd than the Foot of those Nations. The Indians were also arm'd like their Foot; had led Horses, and Chariots drawn by Horses and wild Asses. The Bactrian and Caspian Cavalry was furnish'd in all Points as their Infantry. The Libyans were arm'd and cloth'd like their Foot, and every one of them had a Chariot. The Paricanians imitating the Caspians, carried the same Arms with their Foot. And the Arabians, not at all differing from their Infantry in Arms or Clothing, were mounted upon Camels no less swift than Horses. These were the only Nations that compos'd the Cavalry; which amounted to the Number of fourscore Thousand, besides the Camels and the Chariots. All the Horse were dispos'd in proper Order: But the Arabians were plac'd in the Rear, lest the Horses should be affrighted at the Sight of the Camels;

which they cannot bear. *Armanithres* and *Tithus*, the Sons of *Datis*, were Generals of the Cavalry. For *Pharnuches*, who had been appointed the other General, was sick at *Sardis*, by an unfortunate Accident which happen'd to him as he march'd out of the City. His Horse frighted at a Dog that ran between his Legs, rose upright, and threw him to the Ground; upon which he vomited Blood, and fell into a languishing Distemper. But the Servants of *Pharnuches*, by his Order, punish'd the Horse upon the spot: For leading him to the Ground where he had thrown his Master, they cut off his Legs by the Knee. And thus *Pharnuches* was disabled from performing the Office of a General.

AFTER the Land-Forces had been view'd; the Ships of War were also numbred, and found to be twelve hundred and seven, fitted out by the following Nations, in such Proportions as I shall set down. The Phœnicians and Syrians who inhabit *Palestine*, furnish'd three hundred Ships, with Men arm'd in this manner. On their Heads they wore Helmets, nearly resembling those of the Grecians; and on their Breast a Pectoral of quilted Flax. They carried Javelins and a round Shield, without any Boss on the Centre. These Phœnicians, as they say of themselves, were antiently seated on the *Red-Sea*; and afterwards leaving their Habitations, went and settled in the maritim Parts of *Syria*; which, with all the Country extending down to *Ægypt*, go under the Name of *Palestine*. The *Ægyptians* sent two hundred Ships for their part. Their Men had a Cap strongly quilted, a convex Buckler with a great Boss; Javelins proper for

for a Sea-fight, and Bills of the largest Size. The more ordinary sort wore a Corflet, and were arm'd with a great cutting Sword. The Cyprians brought a hundred and fifty Ships, and appear'd in this manner: Their Kings wore Mitres on their Heads, and the rest were cloth'd in Vests, and arm'd like the Grecians. The People of *Cyprus*, if we may believe their own Report, are descended of divers Nations; some deriving themselves from *Salamis* and the Athenians; and others from *Arcadia*, from *Cythnus*, from *Phœnicia*; and some from the Æthiopians. The Cilicians furnish'd a hundred Ships. They wore a Cap made after the manner of their Country; and instead of a Shield, had a Buckler of the smallest Size, cover'd with untann'd Hides. They were cloth'd in a woollen Vest, and every one carried two Javelins, with a Sword not unlike that of the Ægyptians. The Cilicians were antiquitly call'd Hypachæans, and took the Name they now have, from *Cilix* the Son of *Agenor* a Phœnician. The Pamphylians, who are descended from those that return'd from *Troy* with *Amphilochus* and *Calchas*, furnish'd thirty Ships, and were arm'd after the manner of the Grecians. The Lycians appear'd in fifty Ships. Their Shoulders were covered with the Skins of Goats, their Legs with Boots, and upon their Heads they wore a Cap adorn'd with a Crest of Feathers. They were arm'd with a Corflet, and carried a Bow of Cornil, with Arrows of Cane; they had also a Falchion, with Darts and a short Sword. They derive their Original from *Crete*, and were formerly call'd Termilians: But receiv'd the Name of Lycians from *Lycus* the

Son of *Pandion*, an Athenian. The Dorians of *Asia* furnish'd thirty Ships; and as they were Peloponeseans by Descent, appear'd, in all Points, arm'd like the Grecians. The Carians contributed Seventy Ships; and, except their Daggers and Faulchions, were arm'd after the manner of *Greece*. What Name they had in antient time, I have mention'd in the former Part of this Work. The Ionians brought a hundred Sail, and were arm'd and cloth'd as the Grecians. Whilst they liv'd in *Peloponessus*, and inhabited those Parts which are now call'd *Achaia*, before the Arrival of *Danaus* and *Xuthus*, the Grecians say, they went under the Name of *Ægialian Pelasgians*; and that they had the Name of Ionians from *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*. The Islanders appear'd with no more than seventeen Ships, and were arm'd like the Grecians. These also being of Pelasgian Original, were afterwards call'd Ionians for the same Reason; and the twelve Cities in like manner have been so nam'd from the Athenians. The *Æolians*, who, as the Grecians say, were antiently call'd Pelasgians, brought sixty Ships, and were arm'd after the manner of *Greece*. All the Hellespontins (except the Abydenians, who were order'd by the King to stay at home for the Guard of the Bridges) furnish'd one hundred Sail; and being Colonies of the Ionians and Dorians, appeared in Grecian Arms. Every one of these Ships had Soldiers on board; who were either Persians, or Medes, or Saces. But the Phœnician Ships, and especially those of *Sidonia*, were the best Sailors. All the Divisions of this Fleet, as well as of the Land-Forces, had their own national Officers; but I shall

shall forbear to mention their Names, as not necessary to the Design of my History; partly, because those Commanders were of little Authority; and partly, because they were no less numerous than the Cities contain'd within the several Nations, from which they came. For indeed they were properly Servants, and not Generals; slavishly obeying their Masters, like the rest of the Multitude. For the supreme Command was lodg'd in the Hands of Persians; whose Names I have already mention'd, as far as relates to the Land-Army. The Naval Forces were commanded in chief by *Ariabignes* the Son of *Darius*; by *Prexaspes* the Son of *Aspathines*; by *Megabazus* the Son of *Megabates*; and by *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius*. The Ionians and Barians were under the Conduct of *Ariabignes* the Son of *Darius* by the Daughter of *Gobrias*; the Ægyptians under that of *Achæmenes*, Brother to *Xerxes*: and all the rest of the Fleet was commanded by the two other Generals before-nam'd. Besides these Ships of War, the Gallies of fifty and thirty Oars, with the Vessels of Transportation for Horse and other Necessaries, amounted to the Number of three Thousand. Next to the Generals I have mention'd, the Commanders of greatest Fame, were, *Tetramnestus* the Son of *Allesius*, of *Sidonia*; *Mapen* the Son of *Sironus*, of *Tyre*; *Narbal* the Son of *Arbalus* of *Aridela*; *Syemnes* the Son of *Oromedon* of *Cilicia*; *Ciberniscus* the Son of *Sica* of *Lycia*; *Gortus* the Son of *Cherxes*, and *Timonax* the Son of *Timogarus*, both Cyprians: And of the Carians, *Histiæus* the Son of *Tymnes*; *Pygres* the Son of *Seldomus*; and *Damasithymus* the Son of *Candaules*. I shall mention no more of the Commanders, because

cause I judge it unnecessary. But above all I admire *Artemisia*, who being left a Widow, and having taken upon her the Administration of her Son's Kingdom during his Minority, expos'd her Person in this Expedition against *Greece*; not constrain'd by any Necessity, but only to shew her Generosity and Valour. She was the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, and deriv'd her Original by the Father's Side from *Halicarnassus*, and from *Crete* by the Mother. The *Hallicarnassians*, the *Coans*, the *Nisyrians*, and the *Calydnians* were under her Dominion; and she join'd the Fleet of *Xerxes* with five Ships of War, better than any of the rest, except those of the *Sidonians*. In a word, her Fore-sight was so great, that of all the Confederates she gave the most prudent Counsel to the King. As for the People, which, as I said before, were under her Government, they are originally *Dorians*: For the *Halicarnassians* are a Colony of the *Trazenians*, and the rest are descended from the *Epidaurians*.

WHEN *Xerxes* had caus'd all his Forces to be number'd, and drawn into distin& Bodies, he resolv'd to take a particular View of every Nation: And to that end, stepping into a Chariot, was carried to the Head of each Division; and having ask'd such Questions as he thought necessary, commanded his Secretaries to put in writing the Answers he receiv'd: continuing to proceed in this manner, till he had intirely view'd all the Land-Army, both Horse and Foot. That done, he left his Chariot, and going on board a *Sidonian* Ship, plac'd himself under a Canopy of Gold: And sailing by the Fleet, which was rang'd on a Line he made the like Enquiry, as before in

relation to the Land-Forces, and order'd an Account of all the Particulars to be written down by the same Persons. In order to this Review, the Commanders had put to Sea in due time; and having drawn their Ships into one Line, at the distance of about four hundred Foot from the Shoar, with their Heads fronting that way, they arm'd their Men as for a Battle; and *Xerxes* sailing between the Land and the Ships, saw them all distinctly. When he had made an end of viewing the Fleet, and was return'd to Shoar, he sent for *Demaratus* the Son of *Ariston*, and spoke to him in these Terms: " *Demaratus*, said he, I desire to ask you a Question: You are a Grecian; and moreover, born in a City of *Greece*, which, as I am inform'd by you, and other Persons of that Nation, whom I have seen, is neither the least, nor the weakest. Tell me therefore, whether you think the Grecians will dare to resist my Forces? For I am persuad'd, that if not only all the Grecians, but all the rest of the Western World were collected into one Body, they would not have the Courage to oppose me. However, I am desirous to know your Opinion on this Subject." " SIR, said *Demaratus*, shall I frame my Answer according to the Truth, or must I endeavour to please?" The King bid him speak the Truth with freedom, and be assur'd he should not lose any part of his Favour on that account. Which when *Demaratus* heard, he began thus: " Since you require me to inform you of the Truth without reserve, I will take care that no Man shall hereafter justly accuse me of having deceived

“ ceiv’d you by a Falshood. Know then, that
“ *Greece* was ever inur’d to Poverty, which
“ has been her Mother and Nurse; that she
“ acquir’d Virtue by her Wisdom, and by a
“ steady Discipline, with which she has de-
“ fended her Poverty and her Power. These
“ Praises are justly due to all those Grecians,
“ who inhabit the Country of the Dorians.
“ But I shall not now speak of any other People
“ than of the Lacedemonians alone. In the
“ first Place, they never will hearken to your
“ Terms, because they are destructive to the
“ Grecian Liberty: Nay more, they will not
“ fail to meet you in the Field, tho all the rest
“ of the Grecians should side with you. To
“ ask how many they are in Number, is un-
“ necessary; for whether they amount to a
“ thousand Men, or more, or even less, they
“ will most certainly appear and give you Bat-
“ tle.” At these Words of *Demaratus*, *Xerxes*
laughing said; “ Are you not ashamed to speak
“ in this manner. What! Shall a thousand
“ Men venture to engage so great an Army?
“ Would you, who have been their King, un-
“ dertake to fight singly against ten Men? If
“ your Countreymen are so valiant as you pre-
“ tend, you, who are their King, ought by
“ your own Institutions, to be capable of do-
“ ing as much as any two of ordinary Rank;
“ and therefore, if one of these is able to fight
“ ten of my Men, I may justly require you to
“ fight twenty; and by that Experiment to
“ confirm your Discourse. But if they are
“ neither of greater Strength, nor of a high-
“ er Stature, than you, and the rest of the
“ Grecians I have seen, consider, whether the
“ things

“ things you have said, of them, may not be
“ the Effect of Pride and Vanity. I desire to
“ know, how a thousand Men, or even ten
“ thousand, or, if you will, fifty thousand, all
“ equally free, and not subject to the Command
“ of a single Person, can possibly resist such
“ an Army as mine? And unless they are
“ more than five thousand, we have a thousand
“ Men against one. Were they indeed, like
“ our Forces, under the absolute Command of
“ one General, they would doubtless be push'd
“ on to bolder Attempts by their Apprehensi-
“ ons of his Power, than by their own natu-
“ ral Courage; and might be constrain'd by
“ Force, to attack a far greater Number than
“ themselves: But now, being under no Com-
“ pulsion, they are not likely to do either the
“ one or the other. And I am of opinion,
“ that the Grecians, upon Tryal, will not be
“ a Match for an equal Number of Persians.
“ Those Qualities of which you boast, are
“ really in us only, tho I must own they are
“ rare and uncommon. Yet I have Persians in
“ my Guards, who will not refuse to encoun-
“ ter thrice their Number of Grecians, so
“ much magnified with you without Cause.”

To this *Demaratus* replied; “ SIR, I knew
“ from the Beginning, that the Truth I should
“ speak would be displeasing to you; but be-
“ cause you encourag'd me to deliver my Opini-
“ on with Sincerity, I thought myself oblig'd
“ to give you a just Character of the Lacedemo-
“ nians. You know how little Cause I have to
“ retain any Affection for those, who, after they
“ had depriv'd me of the Honours and Digni-
“ ty of my Ancestors, constrain'd me to aban-
“ don

“ don my Country. On the other hand, you
“ know how generously your Father receiv’d
“ me, and made ample Provision for my Sup-
“ port; and therefore cannot possibly enter-
“ tain the least shadow of Suspicion, that
“ a Man in his right Senses will ever cease to
“ acknowledge such eminent Benefits with all
“ imaginable Gratitude. For my own part,
“ I am so far from presuming to enter the
“ Lists against ten Men, that I would not wil-
“ lingly fight against two, nor even against
“ one, without a just Cause; yet in a Case of
“ Necessity, or at a time solemnly appointed
“ for the Exercise of Valour, I would chuse
“ to engage one of those who pretend to be
“ singly equal to the three Grecians. The
“ Lacedemonians perhaps are not better than
“ other Men in single Combat, but in a col-
“ lected Body they surpass all Mankind. And
“ tho they are a free People, yet in some
“ things they are willing to be restrain’d. For
“ the Law is their Sovereign, which they obey
“ with a more awful Reverence, than your Sub-
“ jects pay to you. They do whatever she en-
“ joins, and her Injunctions are always uniform.
“ She forbids them to fly from any Enemy, tho
“ his Forces are ever so numerous; and com-
“ mands them to keep their Ranks, and to
“ conquer, or die in the Battle. If you think
“ I entertain you with impertinent Discourse,
“ I shall say no more on this Subject: Nor in-
“ deed should have said so much, had I not been
“ constrain’d by the Command you laid upon
“ me. Nevertheless I wish you all the Prof-
“ perity you can desire.” When *Demaratus* had
thus spoken, *Xerxes* laughing at his Simplicity,
dismiss’d

dismiss'd him without the least shew of Discontent : And after he had appointed *Mascames* the Son of *Megadostes* to be Governour of *Doris-cus* in the room of another Person who had been plac'd in that Government by *Darius*, he advanc'd with his Army into *Thrace*. To this *Mascames* *Xerxes* us'd to send a Present every Year ; because he esteem'd him the most valiant of all the Governours that either he or *Darius* had chosen ; and his Son *Artaxerxes* continued the same Bounty to his Posterity. For of all thcse who had been appointed to command in *Thrace*, and in all the Cities of the *Hellespont*, none were able to preserve the Places they held, from falling into the Hands of the Grecians, except only *Mascames*, who kept himself in possession of *Doris-cus*, notwithstanding the many Attempts they made against him : And on this account he annually receiv'd a Present from the King of *Persia*. But among all the Governours of those Cities, which were retaken by the Grecians, *Xerxes* thought no Man had behav'd himself with Courage, except *Boges*, who commanded in *Eion*. He took every Occasion to mention him with Praise, and conferr'd the highest Honours upon the Children he left in *Persia*. The Truth is, *Boges* deserv'd the greatest Commendation. For when he was besieg'd by the Athenians under the Conduct of *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, and might have march'd out, with leave to return to *Asia* upon his Honour, he refus'd to accept any Conditions, lest the King should suspect him of Cowardice : And persisting constantly in that Resolution, after his Provisions were quite spent, he caus'd a great Fire to be kindled ; and having kill'd his Wife and

and Children, with his Concubines and Servants, threw their Bodies into the Flames: Then mounting the Walls of the City, he cast all the Silver and Gold, that was to be found, into the River *Strymon*; and after he had so done, threw himself into the Fire: Deserving by this Action to be ever remembred with Honour among the Persians.

XERXES marching towards *Greece*, compell'd all the Nations he found in his Way to join his Army with their Forces. For, as I said before, all those Countries, even to *Thessaly*, had been subdued and made tributary to him, by *Megabazus*, and *Mardonius*. In his March from *Doris*, he pass'd by the Samothracian Cities; the last and most westwardly of which, is call'd *Mesambria*, situated at a small Distance from *Stryma*, a City of the Thasians. Between these two Places runs the River *Lissus*; which not having Water enough for *Xerxes* and his Army, was intirely exhausted. This Country was antiently known by the Name of *Gallacia*, and is now call'd *Briantica*; but of right belongs to the Ciconians. When *Xerxes* had pass'd the dry Channel of the *Lissus*, he march'd by the Grecian Cities of *Maronea*, *Dicea*, and *Abdera*; with the memorable Lakes of *Ismaris* and *Bistonis*, which lie in their Neighbourhood. For the former of these situate between *Maronea* and *Stryma*; and the latter is contiguous to *Dicea*, and receives the Waters of the two Rivers *Travus* and *Compsatus*. *Xerxes* observing no remarkable Lake about *Abdera*, pass'd the River *Nestus*, which runs into the Sea; and after he had travers'd all those Regions, turn'd his March to the midland Cities. In one

of these, call'd *Pisyrus*, is a Lake, about thirty Stades in Circumference ; of a brackish Water, abounding in Fish ; which was drunk up by the draught Horses, and other Cattle belonging to the Baggage of his Army. Thus leaving the Grecian Cities of that Coast on the Left Hand, he march'd thro the Countries of *Thrace* that belong to the Pætians, the Ciconians, the Bistonians, the Sapæans, the Dersæans, the Hedonians, and to the Satrians. As many of these as are situate near the Sea, attended him with their Ships ; and those who inhabited the inland Parts, were all oblig'd to follow the Army by Land, except the Satrians. This People, if we are rightly inform'd, never had a Master ; and among all the Thracians, have singly continued free to this Day. They inhabit a mountanious Country, cover'd with Woods and Snow. They are valiant in *War* ; and have an Oracle of *Bacchus* in the highest Part of their Hills. The Priests of this Temple are of *Bessa* ; and an Archpriestess delivers the Answers of the Oracle, which are not more ambiguous than those of *Dalphi*. Having pass'd these Countries, he advanc'd to *Niphagra* and *Pergamus*, Cities of the Pierians, leaving *Pangæus* on the Right Hand, which is a great and high Mountain, abounding in Mines of Gold and Silver, possess'd by the Pierians, Odomantians ; and especially by the Satrians. Then passing thro the Territories of the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoplians, who inhabit to the North, beyond Mount *Pangæus*, he bent his March Westward, till he arriv'd at *Eion* on the River *Strymon* ; of which City, *Boges*, whom I have so lately mention'd,

was at that time Governour. The Country that lies about the Mountain *Pangæus* is call'd *Phillis*; on the West Side, extending to the River *Angites*, which falls into the *Strymon*; and on the South, to the *Strymon* itself. At their Arrival, the Mages offer'd a Sacrifice of white Horses to this River; and after they had thrown them into the Stream, with a Composition of various Drugs, the Army broke up, and march'd to the *Nine Ways* of the Edonians, where they found Bridges prepar'd for their Passage over the *Strymon*. But being inform'd that this Place was called by the Name of the *Nine Ways*, they took nine of the Sons and Daughters of the Inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the Manner of the Persians is. And I have heard that *Amestris*, the Wife of *Xerxes*, having attain'd to a considerable Age, caus'd fourteen Children of the best Families in *Persia* to be interr'd alive, for a Sacrifice of Thanks to that God, who, they say, is beneath the Earth. The Army having left the River *Strymon*, pass'd by a Grecian City call'd *Argilus*; which is situate to the Westward, on the Sea Coast, and, with the Country that lies above it, goes under the Name of *Bisaltia*. Then leaving the Bay, where the Temple of *Neptune* is built, on the Left Hand, they march'd thro the Plain of *Syleus*; and passing by *Stagyrus* a Grecian City, arriv'd at *Acanthus*; accompanied by the Forces of the *Pangaens*, and of all the other Nations I have nam'd, which they found in their Way; the Inhabitants of the maritim Places putting to Sea in their Ships, and those of the inland Parts following the Army on Foot. From the time of this March, the Thra-

cians have always shewn so great a Veneration for the Way, by which *Xerxes* led his Forces, that they have totally abstain'd from breaking up or sowing any Part of that Ground to this Day.

WHEN the Army was arriv'd an *Acanthus*, *Xerxes* declar'd he would be entertain'd by the Inhabitants; and having presented them with Suits of Apparel made after the manner of the Medes, he commended their Readiness to attend him in this War, and express'd great Satisfaction when he heard that the Canal of Mount *Athos* was finish'd. But whilst he continued at *Acanthus*, *Artachæus*, who had been the Director of that Work, fell sick and died. He was highly esteem'd by *Xerxes*, and derived his Blood from *Achæmenes*: His Voice was stronger than that of any other Man; he was in Statute the tallest of all the Persians, and wanted only the Breadth of four Fingers to compleat the full Height of five Royal Cubits. *Xerxes* much lamenting the Loss of this Person, caus'd him to be accompanied to the Grave, and interr'd with great Pomp. All the Army was employed in erecting a Monument to his Memory; and the *Acanthians* admonish'd by an Oracle, honour him as a Hero, with Sacrifices and Invocations. Such were the Demonstrations, which *Xerxes* gave of his Concern for the Loss of *Artachæus*.

THE Grecians, who were constrain'd to furnish Provisions for the Table of *Xerxes*, and for all his Army, found themselves so oppress'd, that they chose to abandon their Houses. But when the Thasians receiv'd him with his Forces, in the Name of those Cities which they possess in the midland Country, *Antipater* the Son of *Orges*,

an eminent and wealthy Citizen, expended four hundred Talents of Silver in one Supper. The Magistrates of the neighbouring Cities having been inform'd of the Preparations that were made for this Feast, which was appointed long before, they propos'd the Example to their ownople, and proclaim'd their Intentions by proper Officers. Upon which Notice, the Inhabitants of those Places, distributed all the Wheat and Barley they had, in convenient Portions, among themselves ; and ground it into Meal, in such Quantities as might have been sufficient for many Months. They bought, and fatt'd the best of Cattle ; furnish'd their Ponds and Yards with all manner of Land and Water Fowl, and did whatever they could to make Provision for *Xerxes* and his Army. Besides, they provided Cups and Bason's of Gold and Silver, with all things necessary for the Service of a Table. But these Preparations were made for the King, and for those who were admitted to eat with him : The rest of the Army had only the common Allowance. In all Places where *Xerxes* arriv'd, he found a spacious Tent erected for his Reception : But the Forces had no other Covering than the Air. At the time of eating, those who furnish'd the Provisions, had the Labour of serving their Guests ; who, after they had been plentifully treated, and pass'd the Night, carried away the Tent, with all the Furniture, and Utensils ; leaving nothing behind them at their Departure in the Morning. On which Occasion *Megacreon* of *Abdera* said pleasantly, that he would advise the Abderites to go in a general Procession, with their Wives and

all the People, to the Temples of that City f and to beseech the Gods, to avert one half o the Evils to come, as well as to acknowledge their Favour in not inclining *Xerxes* to eat twice every Day: For if the Abderites were commanded to provide a Dinner for him, equal to his Supper; they would be necessitated, either to abandon their Dwellings, or, if they should stay, to become the most wretched of all Men. Yet they obeyed the Injunctions they had receiv'd, tho not without Difficulty. At *Acanthus*, *Xerxes* sent away the Generals of the Naval Forces, to bring the Fleet to the Bay of *Therma*, which lies below a Place of the same Name; and there to attend his Arrival; because he had heard that was the shortest Way he could take. The Order of his March between the Cities of *Dorisus* and *Acanthus*, was thus: He divided the Army into three Bodies; one of which, commanded by *Mardonius* and *Messenes*, march'd along the Coast, and, as it were, kept company with the Fleet. A second advanc'd by the Way of the inland Countries, under the Conduct of *Trintitachmes* and *Sergis*: Whilst the third Body, in which was the King himself, march'd between the other two, with *Smerdones* and *Megabvzus* at their Head. But the Fleet having Orders from *Xerxes* to depart, pass'd thro the Canal of Mount *Athos*, into the Bay, where the Cities of *Assa*, *Pidorus*, *Singus*, and *Sarga* are situate; and after they had oblig'd those Places to join them with their Forces, they made the Promontory of *Ampelus* in *Terone*; and, in their way to *Therma*, were furnish'd with Ships and Men by the Grecian Cities of *Torone*, *Galepsus*, *Sermylia*, *Meryberna*,

and *Olynthus*, all belonging to the Country which is now call'd *Sithonia*. From the Cape of *Ampelis*, crossing over to the Promontory of *Canastrum*, which advances farther into the Sea than any other upon all the Coast of *Pallene*, they had an additional Force of Ships and Men out of the Cities of *Potidaea*, *Alphytis*, *Neapolis*, *Æga*, *Therambus*, *Scione*, *Mende* and *Sane*, Cities of *Pallene*, which was antiently known by the Name of *Phlegra*. Continuing their Voyage along that Coast, they assembled more auxiliary Forces, out of the Cities of *Lipaxus*, *Combrea*, *Lissa*, *Gigonus*, *Campsa*, *Smila*, and *Ænea*; which are situate in the Neighbourhood of *Pallene*, and near the Bay of *Therma*. From *Ænea*, the last of the Places I mention'd, the Fleet stood for the Gulph of *Therma*, and the *Mygdonian* Coast; till, according to their Instructions, they arriv'd at *Therma*, and at the Cities of *Sindus* and *Chalestra*, both situate on the River *Axius*, which divides the Territories of *Mygdonia* from those of *Bottiais*; where the Cities of *Ichne* and *Pella* stand in a narrow Region near the Sea. All the Fleet took their Stations, either in the River *Axius*, or near the City of *Therma*, or else in the Places that lie between both; and there waited the Arrival of the King.

IN the mean time *Xerxes* departed from *Acanthus*, in his way to *Therma*; and advancing with his Army by the midland Countries, march'd thro the Territories of the *Pæonians* and *Crestonians*, above the River *Chidorus*; which beginning among the Crestonians, passes thro *Mygdonia*, and falls into a Lake, near the River *Axius*. In this March the Camels that carried Provisions

Provisions for the Army, were assaulted by Lions; which coming down in the Night from their Haunts, fell upon those Animals only; leaving the Men, and all other Cattle untouch'd: A thing in my Opinion not a little strange; that the Lions should abstain from all the rest, and attack the Camels alone, which were never seen in that Country before. But Lions are very numerous in those Parts; and wild Bulls, with large Horns frequently brought into *Greece*. Nevertheless these Lions never pass beyond the River *Nestus* of *Abdera* on one side; nor beyond the Acarnanian *Achelous* on the other: And no Man ever saw a Lion in *Europe*, Eastward of the River *Nestus*; nor in any Part of the Continent, that lies to the Westward of the *Achelous*: But they breed between these two Rivers. Being arriv'd at *Therma*, *Xerxes* dispos'd his Army into a Camp, extended along the maritim Parts, from the City of *Therma*, and from *Mygdonia*, to the Rivers *Lydius* and *Haliacmon*; which joining their Streams together, pass between the Territories of *Bottiæis* and *Macedonia*. Here the Barbarians incamp'd; after they had exhausted the Waters of the *Chidorus*; which was the only River they found in this March, that afforded not a sufficient Quantity for the Use of the Army. From *Therma*, *Xerxes* had a Prospect of the Thessalian Mountains, *Olympus* and *Offa*, remarkable for their Height and Bigness; and being inform'd that the River *Peneus* runs into the Sea thro' a narrow Passage, lying between the Ridges of those Hills, and accommodated with a Way leading to the Plains of *Thessaly*, he much desir'd to see the Mouth

of that River; because he design'd to march with his Army by the upper Parts of *Macedonia*, and by the City of *Gennus* into the Country of the Peræbians: which he understood to be the safest Way. Accordingly, leaving his Forces in their Camp, he went on board a Sidonian Ship, which he always us'd upon such Occasions, and made a Signal for all the rest of the Fleet to follow. When he arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Peneus*, he view'd the Place; and being surpriz'd with the Situation, ask'd his Guides, if any Means could be contriv'd to divert the Course of the Stream, and to carry it by another Channel into the Sea. *Thessaly* is reported to have been antiently a Lake, and is encompass'd by vast Mountains on all sides. For *Pelion* and *Offa* joining together at the Foot of each, shut up that Part which faces the East: On the North side stands Mount *Olympus*; *Pindus* on the West; and *Othrys* closes that side which lies to the Southward. *Thessaly* is situate in the Midst of these Mountains, and water'd by divers Rivers; of which the principal are, the *Peneus*, the *Apidanus*, the *Onochonus*, the *Enipeus*, and the *Pamisus*. All these Rivers descending from the Mountains that encompass *Thessaly*, enter into the Plain; and joining their Streams together, pass thro the Chops of a narrow Channel into the Sea; retaining no other Name than that of *Peneus*, after their Conjunction. They say also, that, before this Channel was laid open, neither these Rivers, nor the Lake *Bæbeis* were known by the Names they now bear, tho the Waters then fell down from the Mountains in the same Quantity as at this Day; but that all *Thessaly* was one entire

tire Lake. The Thessalians tell us, that the Channel, by which the River *Peneus* passes into the Sea, is the Work of *Neptune*; and perhaps not improperly. For those who think that God to be the Author of Earthquakes, and such Divulsions of Countries to be the Effect of his Power, will not fail, upon Sight, to attribute this to *Neptune*. And in my Opinion, the Separation of these Mountains was effected by an Earthquake. But the Guides of *Xerxes*, in answer to his Question, whether the River *Peneus* might be convey'd into the Sea by another Channel, said with Reason; “*O King, this River has no other way to discharge its Waters, except this alone; because all Thessaly is surrounded with Hills.*” “*If so, replied Xerxes, the Thessalians have shewn themselves wise Men, in making early Provision for their own Safety; because they knew their Country might be easily subdued in a short time. For nothing more is requir'd to effect this, than to stop the Mouth of the River by a Dike; which would certainly lay all Thessaly under Water, except the Mountains only.*” *Xerxes* express'd himself in this manner, out of a particular Regard to the Aleuadians; who being Thessalians, had put themselves under his Protection, before any other People of *Greece*: And he hop'd they would not be wanting to persuade the rest to imitate their Example. Having thus spoken, and satisfied his Curiosity, he return'd by Sea to *Therma*, and pass'd several Days about *Pieria*, while one third Part of his Forces was employ'd in preparing a Way for all his Army to pass over a Mountain of *Macedonia*.

cedonia into the Territories of the Peræbians.

IN the mean time the Heralds, who had been sent to *Greece*, returned to *Xerxes*; some with Earth and Water, and others without. The Nations that presented those Elements, in Compliance with his Demands, were, the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enienians, the Peræbians, the Locrians, the Magnetians, the Melians, the Achaians, the Phiotians, and the Thebans, with all the rest of the Bœotians, except the Thespians and the Plataians. But those Grecians, who resolv'd to defend themselves against the Barbarians by War, took a solemn Oath, “ That so soon as “ the Affairs of *Greece* should be restor'd to a “ good Condition, they would compel every “ Grecian Community, which should be convicted of having put themselves into the “ Hands of the Persians without manifest Necessity, to pay the tenth Part of all their “ Possessions to the Delphian God.”

XERXES sent no Heralds either to *Athens* or *Sparta* to demand Earth and Water; because they had formerly so ill receiv'd those who had been employ'd thither on the same Message by *Darius*; having thrown some into Wells and others into deep Pits, bidding them carry Earth and Water to the King from those Places. For that Reason no Heralds were dispatch'd to either of these Nations. What Disaster fell upon the Athenians, in consequence of the Severity they us'd to those Messengers, I cannot affirm. Their City indeed and all their Territories suffer'd great Damage; but not, as I believe, on that account. As for the Lacedemonians,

nians, they felt the cruel Effects of the Anger of *Talthybius*, who had been Herald to *Agamemnon*. He has a Temple in *Sparta*; and his Posterity, who go by the Name of *Talthybiads*, have the Honour of performing all their Embassies. But after the bad Reception they gave to the Heralds of *Darius*, they could not sacrifice happily for a long time; and being much disturb'd at this Calamity, they met together often, and by publick Proclamation, made Inquiry, “ If any “ Lacedemonian would die for *Sparta*.” Up-
on which Notification, *Sperthies* the Son of *Ane-
ristus*, and *Bulis* the Son of *Nicolaus*, both Spar-
tans, of eminent Dignity and Interest, volun-
tarily offer'd their Lives, to make Satisfaction
to *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius*, for the Death of
his Heralds. And accordingly, the Lacedemo-
nians sent these Persons to the Medes, as to cer-
tain Death. But as their Courage deserv'd Ad-
miration, so their Words were no less memora-
ble. For when, in their Way to *Susa*, they
came to *Hydarnes*, the Persian General of the
maritim Parts of *Asia*, he receiv'd and treated
them with great Magnificence; and among o-
ther Discourse ask'd them this Question; “ Men
“ of *Lacedæmon*, Why have you such an Aver-
“ sion for the King's Friendship? You may see
“ by my Example, and the Dignities I pos-
“ sess, how well the King understands the Va-
“ lue of a brave Man. He has already a high
“ Opinion of your Courage; and if you will
“ comply with his Desires, he will certainly
“ confer the Government of some Part of
“ *Greece* upon every one of your Nation.” They
answer'd; “ *Hydarnes*, you are not a proper
“ Person to give us Counsel in this Affair: For
“ you

“ you determine concerning two things not
 “ equally understood by you. How to be a
 “ Servant, you know perfectly well ; but you
 “ have neither tried whether Liberty be val-
 “ able, or not. If you had ever experienc'd
 “ the Worth of Liberty, you would counsel
 “ us to defend it, not only with Lances, but
 “ even with Hatchets.”

WHEN they arriv'd at *Susa*, and appear'd before the King, his Guards first commanded, and then went about to constrain them by force to prostrate themselves, and to adore him. But they said, they would not comply with that Usage, whatever Violence they might suffer : That they had never been accustom'd to adore a Man, and came not thither to that end. Having thus defended themselves from this Imposition, they spoke to *Xerxes* in these Words : “ King of the Medes, we are
 “ sent by the Lacedemonians, to make you
 “ Satisfaction for the Death of those Heralds
 “ who were kill'd in *Sparta*.” *Xerxes* having heard their Message, generously answered,
 “ That he would not be like the Lacedemo-
 “ nians, who had violated the Rights of Man-
 “ kind by the Murder of his Heralds ; nor do
 “ the same thing which lie blam'd in them ; and
 “ by the Death of two Men acquit the Spar-
 “ tans from the Guilt they had contracted.”
 However, after the Lacedemonians had offer'd this Satisfaction, the Anger of *Talthybius* ceas'd for that time, tho' *Sperthies* and *Bulis* return'd safe to *Sparta*. But after many Years, and during the War between the Peloponesians and the Athenians, the Lacedemonians say, that the Wrath of *Talthybius* broke out again, in a
 manner

manner which to me appears wonderful. For tho the Suspension of his Displeasure, when the two Spartans were sent away to *Xerxes* by way of Reparation, was no more than might be justly expected ; yet that his Vengeance should overtake the Sons of those very Men, who had been devoted to that End, persuades me to think they were punish'd by a divine Power. For *Nicolaus* the Son of *Bulus*, and *Aneristus* the Son of *Sperthies*, (who had before taken and pillag'd some Tyriinthian Fishermen,) being sent on a Message to *Asia* by the Lacedemonians, were betray'd in their Passage by *Sitalces*, the Son of *Tyreus*, King of *Thrace* ; and falling into the Hands of *Nymphodorus* the Son of *Pytheus* of *Abdera*, were carried Prisoners to *Athens*, and put to death by the Athenians, with *Aristeas* the Son of *Adimantus*, a Corinthian. But these things happen'd many Years after the Expedition of *Xerxes*.

To return now to my Narration: This War was colour'd over with the Pretence of attacking *Athens*; but was really design'd against all *Greece*. Yet the Grecians, who had long heard of the Preparations made by *Xerxes* were not ill affected in the same manner. For those who had presented him with Earth and Water, flatter'd themselves, that they should not suffer any kind of Damage from the Barbarians ; but those who had refus'd to pay that Acknowledgment, were under terrible Apprehensions ; because all *Greece* was not able to furnish a sufficient Number of Ships to fight the Enemy ; and many inclining to favour the Medes, were not willing to engage in the War. On this Occasion, I must declare my Opinion, with a Plainness which

Perhaps

perhaps may be displeasing to the greater Number; and yet I cannot persuade myself to conceal what I think to be true. If the Athenians, terrified with the impending Danger, had abandon'd their Country; or continuing at Home, had surrender'd to *Xerxes*, no other People would have ventur'd to resist his Fleet. And if he had found no Opposition by Sea, he would soon have been Master of the Land. For tho the Peloponeseians had fortified the Wall of the Isthmus with many Works; yet the Lacedemonians, after they had seen their Allies dispossess'd of their Cities by the Enemy's Fleet, and constrain'd by Necessity to abandon the Confederacy, would inevitably have been left alone to sustain the Weight of the War. And being thus deserted, they must have chosen, either to die with immortal Glory in the Field; or to make their Peace with *Xerxes*, afrer all the Grecians had taken part with him. In both Cases *Greece* must have been reduc'd under the Persian Power: For I cannot yet learn, of what Advantage the Wall upon the Isthmus would have prov'd, if the King had been Master of the Sea. To say, therefore, that the Athenians were the Deliverers of *Greece*, is no Deviation from the Truth. They could have cast the Balance, which side soever they had taken. But having resolv'd to defend the Liberty of *Greece*, they awaken'd the Courage of all those Grecians, who had not been corrupted by the Medes; and with the Assistance of the Gods, repuls'd the King. They would not be persuaded to abandon *Greece*, by the terrible Menaces of the Delphian Oracle; but persisting in their Resolution, determin'd to sustain

all

all the Efforts of the Invader. For when the Deputies of the Athenians went to consult the Oracle on their Part, and had perform'd the usual Ceremonies, they sat down in the Sanctuary and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian, whose Name was *Aristonica*.

*FLY to the farthest Regions of the Earth,
Unhappy Men, and shun the impending Ill.
Fly from your Houses, and desert your Walls ;
For total Ruin shall subvert that Place.
An angry Mars, in Asia born, shall come,
And all your stately Piles, and Temples burn.
I see the sacred Walls trembling for Fear,
The lofty Roofs cover'd with Sweat and Blood.
Depart ; and be prepar'd to bear your Fate.*

These menacing Words put the Athenians, who came to consult the Oracle, into a great Consternation : And while they were discoursing together concerning this dismal Answer, *Timon* the Son of *Androbulus*, a Man of principal Authority in *Delphi*, counsel'd them to return and consult the Oracle again in the humblest manner, with Olive-Banches in their Hands. The Athenians were easily persuaded to follow his Advice ; and returning accordingly, address'd the God in these Words : “ O King, vouchsafe to give us an Answer more favourable to our Country ; and shew some Regard to these Branches, which we hold in our Hands : Otherwise we will never depart from this Place, but will remain here till we die.” After which Prayer the Priestess gave a second Answer in these Terms.

PALLAS in vain has us'd her utmost Art,
 To pacify the Wrath of angry Jove.
 So that my present Answer must again,
 Of almost Adamantin Hardness be.
 Yet for Minerva's sake the God will give
 A safe Protection under Walls of Wood,
 To all that lies contain'd within the Bounds
 Of Cecrops, or Citheron's sacred Hills.
 These, these alone impregnable shall prove.
 But never stay to fight the dreadful Troops
 Of Horse and Foot, advancing thro the Plains :
 If e'er you see them, save yourselves by Flight.
 The divine Salamis shall lose her Sons ;
 Tho Ceres be brought Home, or left Abroad.

The Athenians rightly judging this Answer to be more moderate than the former, wrote down the Words, and departed for *Athens* : Where when they were arriv'd, and had acquainted the People with all that had pass'd, many different Opinions arose about the Meaning of the Oracle : But I shall mention only such as obtain'd the greatest Credit. Some of the old Men thought the God had declar'd, that the *Acropolis* should remain safe ; because that Fortress had been formerly encompass'd with a Circumvallation ; which they suppos'd to be meant by the wooden Wall. Others said, that nothing but Ships could possibly be understood by that Expression ; and therefore advis'd, that omitting all other Designs, they would apply themselves to prepare a Fleet : Nevertheless this Opinion seem'd to be overthrown by the two last Verses pronounc'd by the Pythian.

THE

'The Divine Salamis shall lose her Sons,
'The Ceres be brought home, or left abroad.'

These Lines, I say, confounded the Sentiment of those, who said, that Ships only could be meant by Walls of Wood: And the Interpreters of Oracles declared themselves of opinion, that their Fleet should be defeated in a Sea-fight, upon the Coast of *Salamis*.

THERE had lately appear'd among the most eminent Athenians, a certain Person, whose Name was *Themistocles*; but commonly called the Son of *Neocles*. He maintain'd, that the Interpreters had not rightly understood the Sense of the Oracle; because, if the Prediction had contain'd such a Meaning, the God would certainly have used a harder Expression; and in his Answer have inserted, the *Unhappy Salamis*, instead of the *Divine Salamis*, had the Inhabitants of that Place been destin'd to Destruction: And therefore, that all those, who would judge rightly, ought to conclude, that the Oracle was not intended against the Athenians, but against their Enemies. For this reason he advis'd them to prepare their Naval Forces; which he said, were really the *Walls of Wood*. The Athenians, convinced by these Reasons, preferred the Opinion of *Themistocles* before that of the Interpreters, who dissuaded them from making any Preparations for the Sea, and exhorted them not to resist the Enemy at all; but to abandon *Attica*, and depart to another Country. In this Conjunction, the Counsel which *Themistocles* had formerly given, prov'd highly advantageous: For when

PALLAS in vain has us'd her utmost Art,
 To pacify the Wrath of angry Jove.
 So that my present Answer must again,
 Of almost Adamantin Hardness be.
 Yet for Minerva's sake the God will give
 A safe Protection under Walls of Wood,
 To all that lies contain'd within the Bounds
 Of Cecrops, or Citheron's sacred Hills.
 These, these alone impregnable shall prove.
 But never stay to fight the dreadful Troops
 Of Horse and Foot, advancing thro the Plains:
 If e'er you see them, save yourselves by Flight.
 The divine Salamis shall lose her Sons;
 Tho Ceres be brought Home, or left Abroad.

The Athenians rightly judging this Answer to be more moderate than the former, wrote down the Words, and departed for *Athens*: Where when they were arriv'd, and had acquainted the People with all that had pass'd, many different Opinions arose about the Meaning of the Oracle: But I shall mention only such as obtain'd the greatest Credit. Some of the old Men thought the God had declar'd, that the *Acropolis* should remain safe; because that Fortress had been formerly encompass'd with a Circumvallation; which they suppos'd to be meant by the wooden Wall. Others said, that nothing but Ships could possibly be understood by that Expression; and therefore advis'd, that omitting all other Designs, they would apply themselves to prepare a Fleet: Nevertheless this Opinion seem'd to be overthrown by the two last Verses pronounc'd by the Pythian.

THE

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the Athenians, finding their Treasury enriched by the Profits they receiv'd from the Mines of *Laureus*, had resolv'd to make a Dividend of ten Drachmas to every Citizen, not under Age, they were diverted from that Resolution by the Remonstrances of *Themistocles*, and persuaded to lay out the Money in building two hundred Ships, to be employ'd against the *Æginetes*. One may justly say, that War sav'd *Greece*, by necessitating the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime Affairs. And though the Ships I mention'd, were not used at that time, yet now they were of singular advantage: For they were ready to put to sea on this Occasion, and only needed a farther Reinforcement. Which, having well considered, the Athenians, by common consent, and in obedience to the Oracle, resolv'd, That all who were able to bear Arms, should go on board their Ships, and, with such of the Grecians as would join them, wait the Approach of the Enemy. In pursuance of this Resolution, those Grecians, who had the Safety of *Greece* at heart, met together; and entring into mutual Engagements of Fidelity to one another, agreed, before all other things, to forget all former Enmities and Differences; for even among these, divers Wars were then actually on foot, though none so considerable as that of the Athenians against the *Æginetes*. After this Consultation, being inform'd of the King's Arrival at *Sardis* with his Army, they determin'd to send some Persons into *Asia*, in order to discover the true State of his Affairs; and to dispatch others to *Argos*, to engage the Argians in an Alliance against the Persians. They also resolv'd to send

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an Embassy to *Gelon* the Son of *Dinomenes*, the Sicilian ; because they had heard, that his Power was great, and his Forces little inferiour to any of the Grecians. With the same Intention, they agreed to send Messengers to the Corcyraens and Cretans, that, as far as might be, the whole Body of the Grecians might be united, and unanimously concur in the defence of the common Cause. Having taken these Resolutions, and promised to lay down their mutual Animosities, they sent three Men for Spies into *Asia* ; who arriving at *Sardis*, and endeavouring to get intelligence of the King's Forces, were seiz'd by the Generals of his Army ; and, after they had suffer'd the Torture, condemn'd to die. But when *Xerxes* heard of this Proceeding, he disapproved the Action, and immediately sent some of his Guards, with Orders to bring them to him, if they were not already put to death. The Guards obey'd ; and finding the Men yet living, brought them before the King : where, after they had acquainted him with the Cause of their coming, he commanded the same Persons to shew them all his Forces, both of Horse and Foot, and afterwards to permit them to go away quietly to whatever Country they should chuse. This he did from an Opinion, that if the Spies were put to death, the Grecians would neither be inform'd, that his Preparations were yet greater than Fame had published, nor suffer any considerable Damage by the Loss of three Men : whereas, if they were allow'd to return to *Greece*, he doubted not that the Grecians, hearing of his numerous Forces, would surrender themselves and their Liberty to his Mercy, before he

should invade their Country ; and, by that means, save him the trouble of Compulsion. This Opinion of *Xerxes* was not unlike another Thought he had at *Abydus* ; where he saw certain Ships laden with Corn, coming from the *Euxine Sea*, and sailing through the *Hellespont*, to *Ægina*, and to *Peloponnesus*. For when those about him were inform'd that the Vessels belonged to the Enemy, and fixed their Eyes upon the King, in expectation to receive his Orders for seizing them, *Xerxes* asked to what Part they were bound ; and understanding they had Corn on board for his Enemies, he said, “ Are not “ we also going to the same Place, where these “ Men are bound ? And are we not oblig'd, a- “ mong other things, to carry Corn with us ? “ What hurt then can they do us, by carrying “ Corn thither, which must be ours ? ”

WHEN the Spies had seen all the King's Forces, they were dismissed : And after their Return to *Europe*, the Grecians, who had engag'd in a Confederacy against the Persian, sent a second Embassy to *Argos* ; of which the Argians gave the following account : That having receiv'd early notice of the Barbarians Design against *Greece*, and not doubting that the Grecians would ask their assistance among the rest, tho they had lately lost six thousand Men, kill'd by the Lacedemonians, under the Conduct of *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, they sent to inquire of the Oracle of *Delphi*, what measures they should take in this Conjunction ; and that the Answer they had from the Pythian, was in these Terms :

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*By Neighbours hated, by the Gods belov'd,
Rest quiet, and from all Engagements free:
Preserve the Head, for that shall save the rest.*

That after they had receiv'd this Answer, the Ambassadors arriving at *Argos*, were introduc'd into the Senate; and when they had delivered their Message, the Argians answer'd, That they were ready to comply on their part, and to that end would be willing to make a Truce with the Lacedemonians for thirty Years, provided they might have an equal share with them in the Command, though they might justly pretend to the whole. This, they say, was the Answer of their Senate, notwithstanding the Pythian had forbidden them to enter into any Confederacy with the Grecians: And therefore they took care to insist upon a Truce of thirty Years, out of a just Apprehension of the Consequences of the Oracle; that their Children might become Men, before the Expiration of that time, and, if they should receive another Blow in the Persian War, be able to preserve their Country from falling into the hands of the Lacedemonians. To these Propositions of the Senate, the Spartans answer'd, That the Question about a Truce should be referr'd to the People: but as to the leading of the Forces, they were instructed to put them in mind, that they had two Kings; whereas the Argians had only one; and that they could not consent to deprive either of their Kings of his Power; yet would not hinder the Argian King from having a Voice in all Deliberations. Upon which, the Argians

said, They could no longer bear the Arrogance of the Spartans, but would rather chuse to be subject to the Barbarians, than to yield the Superiority to them ; adding, that the Ambassadors should depart out of the Territories of *Argos* before the setting of the Sun, under the Penalty of being treated as Enemies. Thus the Argians relate the Success of this Embassy ; but a quite different Report is current in other Parts of *Greece* : For they say, That before *Xerxes* began to advance with his Army against the Grecians, he sent a Herald to *Argos* with a Message conceiv'd in these Terms : “ Men of *Argos*, we are well inform'd, that *Perseus*, one of our Progenitors, was Son to *Perseus* the Son of *Danae*, by *Andromeda*, the Daughter of *Cepheus* ; and therefore, as we derive our Original from you, we ought not to lead an Army against the Country of our Fathers : nor should you appear in Arms against us, to gratify other Men ; but rather chusing to enjoy the Benefit of Peace, continue quiet in your own Habitations : Which if you do, and I succeed according to my Expectation, no People shall have a greater part in my Esteem, than you.”

The Argians not a little pleas'd with this Message, kept the thing private, and said nothing of the Competition at that time : But when the Grecians would have taken them into the Confederacy, they demanded an equal share of the Supreme Command, which they knew the Lacedemonians would never grant ; that they might have a Pretext for refusing to enter into the War. Which Conduct of the Argians, is not unlike what happened many Years after, if we may believe

believe some of the Grecians: For while *Callias*, the Son of *Hipponicus*, with other Ambassadors of the Athenians, were treating certain Affairs at *Susa*, the Argians sent an Embassy likewise to the same Place, with Orders to demand of *Artaxerxes*, the Son of *Xerxes*, whether he would observe the Alliance they had with his Father; or whether he accounted them his Enemies. *Artaxerxes* answer'd, That he understood their antient Alliance to be still in force, and that he had no better Friends than the Argians. But I cannot affirm with certainty, either that *Xerxes* sent such a Message to *Argos*, or that the Ambassadors of the Argians went to *Susa* to continue their Alliance with *Artaxerxes*: And am inclin'd rather to believe the Report of the Argians themselves. Only this I know, That if all Men were to bring together their domestic Disgraces into one place, in order to make an Exchange with their Neighbours, they would no sooner have inspected those of others, than they would be most willing to return home with their own. And therefore I cannot think that the Argians behav'd themselves so ill, as some are ready to imagine. However, I am oblig'd to relate what is said, though I am not oblig'd to believe every thing without Distinction; which I desire may be consider'd in all the Course of this History: For the Argians are likewise charg'd with having invited the Persian into *Greece*, thinking any Change more tolerable than the miserable Condition, to which they had been reduc'd, by their ill Success in the War against the Lacedemonians.

IN the mean time, the Ambassadors of the associated Græcians arriv'd in *Sicily*, to confer with *Gelon*; and among them, *Syagrus* on the part of the Lacedemonians. *Oecetor*, one of *Gelon's* Ancestors, born in the Island *Telus*, which lies over against *Triopium*, left his Country, and came to inhabit in *Gela*. But when *Antiphemes* and the Lyridians of *Rhodes*, possessed themselves of that City, they would not permit him to continue among them: Yet, in succeeding time, his Posterity became Priests of the infernal Gods; which Dignity was first acquired by *Telines*, one of his Descendants. For when some of the Inhabitants of *Gela* were expelled in a Sedition, and had retir'd to the City of *Maetorius*, above *Gela*, *Telines* conducted them back again by the Power of his Function, without any human Assistance: though, where he had these sacred things, or whether he really had them or not, is altogether unknown to me. However, in confidence of his Authority, he brought them home to *Gela*, on condition, that the Priesthood of the infernal Gods should continue in his Descendants. Nevertheless, I admire, among other things, how *Telines* could succeed in so great an Enterprize; since such Attempts being above the reach of ordinary Men, seem only reserv'd for sagacious and daring Spirits: Whereas on the contrary, the Inhabitants of *Sicily* say, he was an effeminate Person, without any Virtue or Courage; and yet attain'd to this Dignity by these means. Upon the Death of *Cleander* the Patarean, who was kill'd by *Sabylus* of *Gela*, after he had reign'd seven Years, his Brother *Hippocrates* took upon him the Government of *Gela*: During whose Reign, this *Gelon*, who

who was descended from *Telines* the Priest, became famous; together with many others, especially *Ænesidemus*, the Son of *Pataicus*, one of the Guards of *Hippocrates*, and afterwards made General of the Horse, on account of his Valour: For in all the Wars made by *Hippocrates* against the Callipolitans, the Naxians, the Zanclæans, the Leontins, and the Syracusians, besides divers Barbarian Nations, *Gelon* signaliz'd himself by the Glory of his Actions; and was so successful, that all those People, except the Syracusians, fell into the power of *Hippocrates*. But the Corinthians and Corcyraens sav'd the Syracusians, after they had been defeated upon the River *Florus*; yet with this Condition, That they should surrender *Camarina* to *Hippocrates*, which they had always possessed to that time. When *Hippocrates* had reign'd as many Years as his Brother *Cleander*, he died at the Siege of *Hybla*, carrying on the War against the Sicilians. Upon which, *Gelon*, under colour of defending the Rights of *Euclides* and *Cleander*, the Sons of *Hippocrates*, against their Subjects, who would no longer obey, defeated the Geleans; and having excluded the young Men, possessed himself of the Tyranny. After this Success, undertaking to restore some Syracusians, who were call'd *Gamorians*, and had been expell'd by the Populace, and by their own Servants, call'd *Cylharians*; he conducted them from *Casmene* to *Syracuse*, where the Populace, upon his Arrival, put him into possession of that City. When he saw himself Master of *Syracuse*, he had little regard to *Gela*, and therefore gave that Government to his Brother *Hiero*, retaining *Syracuse* for himself;

which

which he esteem'd more than all other Places. By this means that City in a short time attained to a high degree of Power and Prosperity ; for he destroyed *Camarina*, and transferring the Inhabitants to *Syracuse*, gave them the Privilege of Citizens ; as he did likewise to more than one half of the *Geleans*. He besieg'd the Megareans, who had settled in *Sicily*, and having oblig'd them to surrender their City, he contented himself to remove the most wealthy of the Inhabitants to *Syracuse*, and conferr'd the same Privileges on them also, though they expected nothing less than Death, because they had been the Authors of the War against him. But he dealt otherwise with the Megarean Plebeians ; and albeit they had no part in promoting the War against him, nor expected to suffer any Detriment on that account, he sold them in *Syracuse* ; with express Condition, that they should be transported out of *Sicily*. He treated the Eubœans of that Island in the same manner, and made the same Distinction among the Inhabitants of both Places, out of an opinion, that a Populace is not easily govern'd. And by these means the Power of *Gelon* was grown formidable.

WHEN therefore the Ambassadors of the Grecians were arriv'd in *Syracuse*, and introduc'd into the Presence of *Gelon*, they deliver'd their Message in these Terms : " The Lacedemonians and their Allies have sent us hither, to desire you to enter into their Confederacy against a Barbarian King : For doubtless you have heard that a Persian is come to invade *Greece* ; that he has laid a Bridge over the *Hellespont*, and brings

“ brings with him all the Eastern Nations of
“ *Aſia*, under colour indeed of making war
“ against the Athenians, but really designing
“ to subdue all the Grecians. You therefore,
“ who have so great power, and possess so
“ considerable a part of *Greece*, by being the
“ principal Potentate of *Sicily*, assist those, who
“ would preserve *Greece* from Servitude, and
“ concur with them in maintaining the com-
“ mon Liberty. If the Grecians will be una-
“ nimous on this Occasion, we shall make up
“ a formidable Force, sufficient to resist the
“ Invader: But if some of us should betray
“ the publick’ Cause, and others refuse to give
“ their assistance, the sound and honest part of
“ *Greece* must of necessity be reduc’d to so
“ small a number, that the Whole would be
“ in danger of utter Ruin. Flatter not your-
“ self, as if the Persian will spare you, after
“ he shall have conquer’d us; think rather by
“ proper means how to prevent the Mischief,
“ and to preserve your own, by assisting us:
“ For Enterprizes founded upon prudent
“ Counsels, are generally attended with pro-
“ perous Success.” After the Ambassadors
had thus spoken, *Gelon*, with ſome Emotion,
roughly anſwered: “ Men of *Greece*, your
“ Presumption is greater than ordinary, to
“ desire me to take part with you, against
“ the Barbarian, because you denied me your
“ assistance in former Occasions. When I im-
“ plored your Succour against the Barbarian Ar-
“ my of the Carthaginians, and requested you
“ to avenge the Death of *Dorieus*, the Son
“ of *Anaxandrides*, upon the *Ægestans*, you re-
“ fus’d both; and would neither help me in
“ my

" my Necessity, nor revenge the Death of
 " *Dorieus*, though at the same time I offered
 " you my Assistance to restore the Liberty of
 " those Ports, to which you trade with great
 " advantage. So that I am no way oblig'd
 " to you, if all I possess be not now in the
 " power of Barbarians. But because my Af-
 fairs have succeeded better, and the War
 " is at last brought home to your own Coun-
 " try, you will now condescend to remember
 " *Gelon*. Nevertheless, though you treated
 " me with Contempt, I shall not imitate your
 Example: On the contrary, I am ready to
 " supply you with two hundred Gallies, twen-
 ty-thousand Men compleatly armed, two
 thousand Horse, two thousand Bow-men,
 two thousand Slingers, and two thousand
 Light-horse. I will likewise undertake to
 furnish the whole Grecian Army with Corn,
 during all the time of the War. But I can-
 not engage to perform these things, unless
 I may be General of the Grecians: Neither
 will I appear in the Field, nor send any
 Succour to *Greece*, except only on that Con-
 dition." *Syagrus* hearing these Words with
 impatience, cry'd out; " How would *Aga-*
memnon, the Son of *Pelops*, grieve, to hear that
 the Spartans had yieldeed the Supreme Com-
 mand to *Gelon*, and to the Syracusians? For-
 bear to mention this Proposition again; and if
 you are willing to succour *Greece*, resolve to
 march under the Conduct of the Lacedemo-
 nians; or, if you disdain to obey their Orders,
 we will not accept your Assistance." *Gelon*
 finding *Syagrus* averse to his Design, made an-
 other Proposition in these Terms; " Spartan
 Friend,

“ Friend, said he, though injurious Language
“ has a natural Tendency to raise the Indig-
“ nation of Men, yet I shall not retaliate that
“ which I have receiv’d from you, in the same
“ kind. Nevertheless, since you so passionately
“ affect the Supreme Command, I cannot for-
“ bear to tell you, that I might with more
“ Justice pretend to that Honour, because I
“ have a far greater number than you, both
“ of Ships and Land-Forces. However, see-
“ ing you are so averse to the Proposition I
“ made, I shall abate something of my first
“ Pretensions. If then you chuse to command
“ the Army by Land, I will have the Condu~~ct~~
“ of the Fleet: or, if you had rather command
“ at Sea, I will be General of the Land-For-
“ ces. One of these Conditions you must be
“ contented to accept, or resolve to return
“ home without obtaining any Assistance from
“ me.” When *Gelon* had made this Offer,
the Ambassador of the Athenians, preventing
the Lacedemonian, reply’d in these Words;
“ King of *Syracuse*, the Grecians have sent
“ us to you, not to desire a General, but an
“ Army. On the other hand, you tell us, you
“ will send none of your Forces, unless you
“ may be General of *Greece*; which you seem
“ to affect extremely. We said nothing to
“ the Demand you made, of commanding all
“ the Forces of *Greece*, because we resolv’d to
“ content ourselves with the Answer of the
“ Spartan Ambassador, which we knew would
“ in that Particular be sufficient for us both.
“ But because, since your Exclusion from the
“ whole Command, you have thought fit to
“ require the Generalship of the Sea, we must
“ inform

" inform you, that though the Lacedemonians
 " should be willing to comply with your De-
 " mand, the Athenians will never consent to
 " give you such a Power: For the Honour of
 " that Command belongs to us, unless the
 " Lacedemonians themselves will take it. If
 " they have that intention, we shall not oppose
 " their Design; but we will never yield the
 " Preeminence to any other. In vain should
 " we possess the greatest Naval Forces of all
 " the Grecians, if we should suffer ourselves
 " to be commanded by the Syracusians: we,
 " who are Athenians, the most antient People
 " of *Greece*, and the only Nation of those Parts
 " which has never been compell'd to abandon
 " their Country; we, I say, who are of a
 " City, which, according to the Testimony of
 " *Homer*, the Epick Poet, sent to the Siege of
 " *Troy*, the most experienced Men of all others,
 " in the Art of disposing and drawing up an
 " Army to the best advantage. And there-
 " fore, we think, we may justly take the great-
 " er liberty to speak honourably of the A-
 " thenians." To this Speech *Gelon* answered;

" Athenian Stranger, since you seem to abound
 " as much in Men who would command, as
 " destitute of those who should obey; and since
 " you resolve to retain the whole Power in your
 " hands without any Competition; depart out
 " of my Territories, and carry this News to
 " *Greece*, That their Year shall have no Spring."

Intimating by these Words, that his Army was
 by so much more considerable than that of
 the Grecians, as the Spring is more delicious
 than any other Season; and that *Greece*, de-
 priv'd of his Assistance, would be reduc'd to
 the

the Condition of a Year which should have no Spring. With this Answer the Ambassadors return'd home from *Sicily*.

IN the mean time, *Gelon*, apprehending that the Grecians would not be able to resist the Barbarian, and yet determining not to go to *Peloponnesus*, because he must there have obey'd the Spartans, which he accounted an intolera-ble Condition to be impos'd upon a Sicilian Tyrant, took another Resolution: For he was no sooner inform'd that the Persian had passed the *Hellefpon*, than he dispatch'd *Cadmus*, the Son of *Scythes*, a Coan, to *Delphi*, with a friendly Message, and three Ships laden with great Riches, enjoining him to wait the Event of a Battle; and if the Barbarian should con-quer, to make him a present of that Treasure, with Earth and Water for all the Places in his possession: but if the Grecians should be victorious, to bring back the Money to *Sicily*. This *Cadmus* had been formerly possess'd of the Dominion of *Coos*, which he receiv'd from his Father: And though his Power was firm-ly establish'd, and his Affairs in a prosperous Condition, his Love to Justice was so great, that he freely surrendred the Government into the hands of the Coans, and retired into *Sicily*; where he liv'd with the Samians, in the City of *Zanole*, afterwards known by the Name of *Messana*. *Gelon*, who was not un-acquainted with these things, nor ignorant of many other Proofs of his Integrity, sent him to *Delphi* on this Occasion: in which he gave no less Testimony of his Probity, than he had done by his preceding Actions. For albeit he might easily have converted the Treasure with

with which *Gelon* had entrusted him, to his own Profit, he was so far from taking the advantage, that so soon as the Grecians had obtain'd the Victory by Sea, and *Xerxes* was retiring with his Forces, he carried back the Money to *Sicily*. But the Sicilians varying from some Particulars of this Relation, say, that *Gelon* having at last prevail'd with himself to obey the Lacedemonians, would have assisted the Grecians in that Conjunction, if at the same time, *Terillus*, the Son of *Crinippus*, who was Tyrant of *Hymera*, and dispossesed of his Government by *Theron*, Son to *Aeneas-demus*, and King of the Acragantins, had not brought in an Army of three hundred thousand Men; consisting of Phænicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyans, Elisyians, Sardinians, and Curnians, under the Conduct of *Amilcar*, the Son of *Hanno*, King of *Carthage*. To this Expedition, *Terillus* sollicited the Carthaginians, partly on account of their mutual Amity, but principally at the Instigation of *Anaxilaus*, the Son of *Critineus*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*; who put his Children for Hostages into the hands of *Amilcar*, to oblige him to pass into *Sicily*, in order to revenge the Injury done to his Father-in-law: For *Anaxilaus* had married *Cydippe*, the Daughter of *Terillus*. And thus *Gelon* being made uncapable of succouring the Grecians in any other manner, resolv'd to send Money to *Delphi*. They add, that *Gelon* and *Theron* defeated *Amilcar*, the Carthaginian, in *Sicily*, on the same day in which the Grecians obtain'd the Victory at *Salamis*, against the Persian. I am also inform'd, that *Amilcar*, who was a Carthaginian by his Father, and of *Syracuse* by his

his Mother, and chosen King of *Carthage* for his Virtue, was never seen, either living or dead, after the Battel in which his Army was defeated, though *Gelon* sought him in all Places with the utmost Care and Diligence. The Carthaginians, who have a great Veneration for his Image, say, That whilst the Barbarians were engag'd with the Grecians of *Sicily*, in that Battel, which began early in the Morning, and lasted to the Twilight of the Evening, *Amilcar* continuing in the Camp, sacrificed entire Victims upon a great Fire, and when he saw his Army flying, poured out a Libation, which he held in his hand, threw himself into the Flames, and so disappear'd: But whether he disappear'd in the manner related by the Phœnicians, or as the Fact is reported by the Carthaginians, they not only honour him with Sacrifices, but have erected Monuments to his Memory, in all the Cities they have founded; though the most memorable are in *Carthage*. These things I have thought fit to say concerning *Sicily*.

THE Corcyraens, in this Conjunction, acted in a manner very different from the Professions they made: For when the Ambassadors of *Greece* arriv'd at *Corcyra*, and had acquainted the Corcyraens with the Cause of their coming, in such Terms as they had already used to *Gelon* in *Sicily*, they readily promis'd to send Succours; and took upon them to say, " That they would by no means neglect the Safety of *Greece* in this time of imminent Danger, but would exert their utmost Efforts in the Defence of the common Cause; well understanding, that if the Enemy prevail'd, they

" should soon be reduc'd to the Condition of
 " Slaves." This indeed was a specious An-
 swer ; but when they ought to have given real
 Succours, they discover'd their bad Intentions :
 and having, after many Delays, fitted out sixty
 Ships, they sail'd to the Coast of *Peloponnesus* ;
 where they anchored about *Pylus* and *Tænarus*,
 which belongs to the Lacedemonians. In that
 Station they waited to see the Event of the War,
 not imagining that the Grecians were in any
 possibility of prevailing ; but that the Persian,
 by the Superiority of his Numbers, must inevi-
 tably be Master of all *Greece*. By this artful
 Conduct, they thought they might have some
 colour to say afterwards to the King ; " Sir,
 " when the Grecians sollicited us to take part
 " in the War, we who have a considerable Force
 " by Land, and more Ships than any other Peo-
 " ple of *Greece*, except the Athenians, would
 " not be persuaded to oppose you, nor to give
 " you the least Cause of Discontent." By
 which Protestation they hoped to obtain more
 Favour than the rest : And if *Xerxes* had con-
 quer'd, I am of opinion, they would not have
 been disappointed of their Expectation. On
 the other hand, they had prepar'd an Excuse to
 the Grecians, which they afterwards alledg'd in
 their defence. For when they were accus'd of
 neglecting to succour *Greece*, they urg'd, that
 having arm'd and fitted out sixty Ships, they
 were hindred by the Etesian Winds, from
 passing the Cape of *Malea*, and consequently
 ought not to lie under any Imputation of Ma-
 lice, for not being present at the Battel of *Sala-
 mis*. In this manner they eluded the Accusation
 exhibited against them by the Grecians.

WHEN

WHEN the Cretans were sollicited by the same Ambassadors, in pursuance of their Instructions; to join in the Defence of *Greece*, they dispatched certain Persons, by common Consent, to enquire of the Oracle of *Delphi*, whether they should best consult their own Advantage, by giving or refusing the Assistance demanded. The Pythian answer'd; “Fools, “impute to yourselves all the Calamities which “angry *Minos* brought upon you, for aiding “*Menelaus*. They would not revenge the “Death of *Minos*, who was murdered at *Ca- micus*, and yet you assisted them, to revenge “the Rape of a Woman carried off from *Spar- ta*, by a Barbarian.” When the Cretans had receiv'd this Answer, they laid aside the Thoughts of succouring *Greece*. Touching the Fate of *Minos*, the Report is, That having pursued *Dædalus* into *Sicania*, which is now call'd *Sicily*, he there met with a violent Death: That after some time, by divine Admonition, all the People of *Crete*, except the Polichnitans and the Præsians, undertook an Expedition to *Sicania* with a numerous Fleet, and during five Years, besieg'd the City of *Camicus*, which is now in the possession of the Acragantins: That finding themselves unable to take the Place, or to continue the Siege, because their Numbers were much diminished by Famine, they reimbark'd their Men, and passing by the Coast of *Japygia*, were forced ashore by a violent Storm; that seeing their Ships dashed in pieces, and all Hope of returning to *Crete* cut off, they settled in that Place; and having built the City of *Hyrria*, took the Name of Messapian Japygians; and of Islanders, became Inhabitants

of the Continent. After this Establishment, they built other Cities in the Neighbourhood of *Hyria*, which, in succeeding time, were ruined by the Tarentins, though not without a heavy Loss on their part, and with the greatest Slaughter on both sides that we have ever heard of among the Grecians. For of the Rhegians only, who were constrain'd by *Micythus*, the Son of *Chœrus*, to assist the Tarentins, three thousand Men died in that Expedition ; but the Number of Tarentins, who perished on that Occasion, was never known. This *Micythus* was a Favourite of *Anaxilaus*, and by him made Governoür of *Rhegium* ; but being dispossesſed of that Government, he retir'd to *Tegea*, a City of *Arcadia*, and afterwards dedicated a great number of Statues in *Olympia*. These things concerning the Rhegians and Tarentins, I thought fit to insert in this Place by way of Digression. As for *Crete*, the Præsians say, that Men of other Nations, and especially the Grecians, went and inhabited that desolate Country : That *Minos* died about three Generations before the *Trojan War* ; in which the Cretans were not the most backward to avenge the Injury done to *Menelaus* : That on this account they were afflicted at their Return with Famine and Pestilence, which destroyed both Men and Cattel ; and that *Crete* being thus dispeopled again, was afterwards inhabited by the present Possessors, in conjunction with such as surviv'd those great Calamities. The Pythian therefore putting the Cretans in mind of these things, quite altered the Disposition they had to assist the Grecians.

THE Thessalians were compelled by necessity to take part with the Medes ; after they had by their Conduct given sufficient Evidence, that they disapprov'd the Treachery of the Aleuadians. For they were no sooner informed that the Persian was ready to pass into *Europe*, than they sent Ambassadors to the Isthmus ; where the Deputies of the Grecian Cities were then assembled, to consult about the most effectual means to preserve *Greece* ; and when their Ambassadors were arrived, they went into the Assembly, and deliver'd their Message in these words : “ Men of *Greece*, the Pass of *Olympus* ought to be guarded with the utmost Care ; to the end that not only *Theffaly*, but that all *Greece* may be secur'd against the Efforts of the Enemy. For our own part, we are ready with all our Forces to concur in defending that important Post ; but we expect, at the same time, that you should send a considerable Army to act in conjunction with us : and if you refuse to comply with our Demand, be assur'd we will make our Peace with the Persian, and not suffer ourselves to be destroyed singly, because we happen to be plac'd on the Frontier of *Greece*. If you will not succour us, you cannot constrain us to resist him ; for Necessity can never be urged against those who are destitute of Power. In a word, we must endeavour to take such measures, as may be most conducing to our own Safety.”

UPON this Representation of the Thessalians, the Grecians resolv'd to send an Army to secure that Passage into *Theffaly*, which is near the Sea ; and when they had assembled their

Forces to that end, they sailed thro the *Eurypus*; and landing at *Alus*, a City of *Achaia*, they left their Ships, and marching into *Thessaly* by Land, arriv'd at *Tempe*, in the way that leads from the lower *Macedonia* to that Country, by the River *Peneus*, and between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Offa*. There the Grecians encamped, to the number of ten thousand Men well armed, and were join'd by the Thessalian Cavalry. The Lacedemonians were led by *Euænetus*, the Son of *Carenum*, chosen from among the Pole-marchs, tho not of the Royal Blood; and the Athenians marched under the Conduct of *Themistocles*, the Son of *Neocles*. But they continued not many days in that Post, before Messengers arriv'd from *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, the Son of *Amyntas*, and in his Name advis'd them to retire, unless they would be trampled under foot by the Forces of the Invader; which they represented in the most formidable manner, both as to the Numbers of his Men and Ships. The Grecians imagining the Macedonian to be their Friend, and his Counsel safe, determin'd to follow his Advice; tho I am of opinion, that their own Fear was the most prevalent Motive to induce them to do as they did: For they had heard there was another Passage leading to *Thessaly*, thro the Country of the Peræbians, in the *Upper Macedonia*, by the City of *Gonnus*; and indeed the Army of *Xerxes*, afterwards entred by that way. Thus the Grecians returning to their Ships, sailed back again to the Isthmus: And such was the Event of the Expedition they made into *Thessaly*, whilst the King staid at *Abydos*, preparing to pass from *Asia* into *Europe* with his Army. After which, the Thessalians finding

finding themselves abandoned by their Allies, made no farther Scruple to take part with the Medes ; and were so ready to promote the King's Affairs, that they became highly useful to him.

THE Grecians being thus return'd to the Isthmus by the Counsel of *Alexander* ; and consulting together by what Means, and in what Places they should adventure to make a Stand with their Forces, came to a fix'd Resolution, that they would defend the Pass of *Thermopyle*, as more narrow than that of *Theffaly*, and nearer to their own Territories. For they knew nothing of the other way, by which those Grecians, who undertook to guard the Passage, were afterwards surprized, till they were informed of it by the Trachinians after their Arrival in those Streights. Having resolv'd to defend this Post, and not to suffer the Barbarian to enter *Greece* without opposition, they also determin'd to send their Fleet to *Artemisium*, on the Coast of *Histiæotis* ; which being not far distant from *Thermopyle*, might facilitate a constant Communication between both. These two Places are thus situate : *Artemisium* is spacious at first, and afterwards streighten'd by the Thracian Sea into a narrow Passage, which lies between the Island of *Scyathus* and the Continent of *Magnesia*. The Coast of *Artemisium* begins at the Mouth of the Eubœan Streight, and has a Temple dedicated to *Diana*. But the way that leads into *Greece* by *Trachis*, is, in the narrowest part, no more than fifty foot in breadth : And yet this Passage is wider than thole that lie before and behind *Thermopyle*. For the way is so narrow near *Alpeni*, which is situate on the far-

ther side of *Thermopyle*, that a Chariot can hardly pass: Nor is the other wider, which lies on this side, near the City of *Antikela*, and the River *Phœnix*. *Thermopyle* is bounded on the West by a high and inaccessible Mountain, surrounded with Precipices, and extends to Mount *Oeta*; and on the East by the Sea, and by an impracticable Morass. Within this Passage are Baths of hot Water, to which the Inhabitants give the name of *Cauldrons*; and above [these there is an Altar consecrated to *Hercules*. The Phœcians formerly built a Wall with Gates, to secure the Pass against the Thessalians; who having abandon'd *Thesprotia*, came to settle in that part of *Æolia* which they now possess. By this means, and by letting in the hot Waters, to render the way impassable, they defended themselves against the Attempts of the Thessalians, and omitted nothing that might prevent them from making Incursions into their Country. But because, thro Length of Time, the greater part of this Wall was fallen down, the Grecians thought fit to rebuild it, and resolved to defend the Pass against the Irruption of the Barbarian: reckoning to be supply'd with Provisions from *Alpeni*, which was nearer than any other Place. Thus the Grecians having diligently weigh'd all Circumstances, and maturely consider'd what means might be most effectual to render useless the great numbers of the Barbarian Forces, both of Horse and Foot, determin'd to expect the coming of the Enemy in this Post; and were no sooner informed that the Persian Army was advanced to *Pieria*, than breaking up from the Isthmus, the Land-Forces march'd away to *Thermopyle*, and the Fleet made towards *Artemisium*.

sum. But whilst the Grecians assembled from all Parts to defend the common Cause, according to the Measures they had concerted, the Delphians, terrified by the Dangers impending over themselves and the rest of *Greece*, consulted the Oracle, and receiv'd for Answer, " That " they should address their Prayers to the " Winds, which would be the most strenuous " Defenders of *Greece*." This Admonition they presently communicated to the confederated Grecians, who being desirous to preserve their Liberty, receiv'd the good News with great Joy, because they were under terrible Apprehensions of the Barbarian Army. After that the Delphians erected an Altar, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Winds in *Thya*: which Place was so called from *Thya*, the Daughter of *Cephissus*, who has a Temple there. And these Sacrifices to the Winds are to this day celebrated by the Delphians, in obedience to that Oracle.

IN the mean time the naval Forces of *Xerxes* departing from *Therma*, detach'd ten of the nimblest Vessels of the Fleet to the Island of *Scyathus*, where three Grecian Ships lay for a Guard: one of which was of *Træzene*, another of *Ægina*, and a third of *Attica*. The Grecians seeing the Barbarian Ships advancing, betook themselves to flight; but the Enemy chacing, soon became Masters of the Træzenian Ship, which was commanded by *Praxinus*; and bringing out the stoutest Man of her Company, killed him upon the Deck: in this manner sacrificing the most valiant of those they first conquered, for a Pledge of their future Successes. The name of the Man was *Leon*; but his Fortune was not answerable to his Name. They met with

with more difficulty in taking the Ship of *Ægina*, which was commanded by *Asonides*. For *Pytheas*, the Son of *Ischenous*, distinguishing himself on that occasion, continu'd to make resistance after the Ship was taken ; till covered with the Number of his Wounds, he fainted and fell. But the Persians, who took the Ship, perceiving him still to breathe, and admiring his Valour, took all possible care to preserve his Life, by applying Balsams to his Wounds, and binding them with Bandages of the finest Linen. At their return they shew'd him with astonishment to the whole Army, and gave him all manner of good Usage, tho' they treated the rest of the Prisoners as Slaves. Thus these two Ships were taken : whilst the other, which was commanded by *Phirmus* an Athenian, made away to the Mouth of the River *Peneus*, where she fell into the hands of the Barbarians, after the Men had saved themselves ashore. For they had no sooner run the Ship aground, than they abandon'd her ; and taking their way thro' *Thessaly*, arrived safely in *Athens*.

WHEN the Grecians, who had their Station at *Artemisium*, receiv'd the News of this Loss, they fell into so great a Consternation, that they retir'd to *Chalcis*, in order to defend the Passage of the *Euripus*, and plac'd Guards by day on the principal Eminences of *Eubæa*. On the other hand the Barbarians, with three of the ten Ships, advancing to the Rocks which lie between *Scyathus* and *Magnesia*, went up, and erected a Pillar of Stone for a Monument of their Success. In the mean time the Enemy's Fleet having spent eleven days in their

their Voyage from *Therma*, after the time of the King's Departure, arrived on this Coast, conducted through the Dangers of the Rocks by *Pammon of Scyrus*. From thence, in one day, they sailed along the Coast of *Magnesia*; and having doubled the Cape of *Sepias*, came to an Anchor in the Road between that Promontory and the City of *Casthanea*. To this Place, and to *Thermopyle*, the Armies of *Xerxes* advanc'd without loss, and, as I am informed, their Numbers were thus computed. The Ships that came from *Asia* amounted to one thousand two hundred and seven; which, at the time of their Departure, had on board two hundred forty one thousand four hundred Men of various Nations, allowing two hundred to each Ship, besides thirty Persians, Medes, or Saces, who, computed together, made up thirty six thousand two hundred and ten Men more. To these Numbers I must add those that were on board the lesser Vessels, which, as I have already said, amounted to three thousand: and accounting eighty Men to each, they will be found to have been two hundred and forty thousand: So that the whole Naval Force, that arrived from *Asia*, was composed of five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten Men. The Land-Army consisted of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore thousand Horse; besides the Arabians mounted on Camels, and the Libyans in Chariots; who, as I conjecture, might amount to about twenty thousand more. In a word, the number of these Forces, that were levied in *Asia*, and employ'd either in the Fleet, or by Land, was two Millions

three

three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten Men ; not including their Train of Servants, nor those who were on board the Ships that carried Provisions. To these must be added, the Forces that were rais'd in *Europe* ; which I shall do according to the best Information I have been able to procure. The Grecians of *Thrace*, and the Islands adjacent, furnished one hundred and twenty Ships, which had on board twenty four thousand Men. The Thracians, Pæonians, Eordians, Bottiæans, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Peræbians, Enians, Dolopians, Magnesians, and Achaians, together with those who inhabit the maritime Parts of *Thrace*, sent such a number of Land-Forces, as, in my opinion, were not less than three hundred thousand. So that if we add these Myriads, to those that were levied in *Asia*, we shall find in all, two Millions six hundred fourty one thousand six hundred and ten fighting Men. Nevertheless, though these Numbers are so prodigiously great, I am perswaded that the Servants, with those on board the Store-Ships and Tenders, were yet more numerous. But supposing them only equal in number, and not more nor less than the military Part, the total Sum will amount to five Millions two hundred fourscore and three thousand, two hundred and twenty Men, brought by *Xerxes*, the Son of *Darius*, to *Sepias*, and to *Thermopyle*. Such was the number of this Army ! But the Women that serv'd for Concubines, and Makers of Bread, the Eunuchs, Draught-Horses, and other Beasts of Burden, with the Indian Dogs that follow'd the Forces, were so many, that no Man can affirm any thing with certainty

certainty touching their Numbers. Therefore I am not astonished, if the Streams of some Rivers prov'd insufficient for this Multitude; but rather, how so many Myriads were supplied with Provisions: For allowing only a Chœnix of Wheat by day to each Man, the Total will amount to one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and forty Mines, consumed every day; without including the Food of the Women, the Eunuchs, the Cattel, and the Dogs. But of all this prodigious Number, no Man, either for Stature or Beauty, seem'd more worthy to command, than *Xerxes* himself.

WHEN the Fleet arriv'd in the Road that lies between the City of *Casthanæa* and the Promontory of *Sepias*, on the Coast of *Magnesia*, the foremost Ships were rang'd close by the Land. But because the Shore was not sufficiently capacious to contain their Numbers, all the rest were oblig'd to ride at Anchor; and to that end, having turn'd the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, they form'd eight several Lines, one behind another; and in that Posture pass'd the Night. The next Morning at day-break, after a serene Sky and still Weather, the Sea began to rise, and a terrible Storm ensued, with a violent North-East-Wind, which, by the Inhabitants of that Coast, is called Hellepontin. Those who perceiv'd the Wind increasing, and were not hindered by their Station, prevented the Mischiefs of the Tempest, and haling under the Shore, sav'd themselves and their Ships: But of those who were surpriz'd out at Sea, some were driven into the Gulphs of *Pelion*, others were forc'd aground; some split upon the Promontory of *Sepias*;

Sepias; some bulg'd upon the Shallows of *Membræa*, and others near the City of *Casthanaæa*: So intolerable was the Violence of the Storm. The Report is, that the Athenians having been admonished by another Oracle, to implore the Assistance of their Son-in-law, addressed themselves to *Boreas*: who, according to the Tradition of the *Grecians*, marry'd *Orithya*, a Woman of *Attica*, and Daughter to *Erechtheus*. On that account, they say, the Athenians were persuaded of their Relation to *Boreas*; and therefore, while they lay at *Chalcis* in *Eubæa* with their Fleet, both before and after they perceiv'd the Storm, they offer'd Sacrifices to *Boreas* and *Orithya*, invoking their Aid, and praying that they would destroy the Barbarian Ships, as they had done before at Mount *Athos*. For my own part, I shall not undertake to say, that their Prayers prevail'd with *Boreas* to fall upon the Barbarians in this Station: But the Athenians say, that this and the former Aid they receiv'd, were both owing to *Boreas*; and therefore, at their Return, they built him a Temple upon the River *Ilissus*. In this Disaster the Barbarians, according to the most moderate Computation, lost four hundred Ships, besides great numbers of Men, and infinite Riches; which prov'd afterwards of great advantage to *Aminocles*, the Son of *Cretinus*. For afterwards, breaking up some Ground about *Sepias*, he found many Cups, and other Vessels both of Gold and Silver, with so great a Treasure belonging to the Persians, that he presently became extremely opulent; though in other things he was unfortunate, and much afflicted for the untimely Death of his Children. The Store-Ships

Ships and other Vessels cast away in the Storm, were so many, that the Commanders, fearing to be attack'd by the Thessalians after this Disaster, fortified themselves with a Rampart of a considerable height, composed of the broken Pieces of the Wreck. Three whole Days the Tempest continued; but on the fourth, after the Mages had immolated the Victims appropriated to the infernal Powers, and endeavoured to charm the Winds by Enchantments, they sacrificed to *Thetis*, and to the Nereides, and laid the Storm: or perhaps the Wind fell of course, as at other times. They sacrificed to these Deities, because they had learnt from the Ionians, that *Thetis* was taken away by *Peleus* out of this Country, and that all the Coast of *Sepias* is dedicated to her, and to the rest of the Nereides. Thus the Tempest ceased on the fourth day.

BUT those who had been left to observe from the Eminences of *Eubaea*, what should pass within their View, came running on the second Day after the rising of the Storm, and acquainted the Grecians with this Shipwreck: Which when they had heard, they pour'd out a Libation with Thanksgiving, to *Neptune* the Deliverer, and immediately set sail for *Artemisium*, hoping they should not find many of the Enemies Ships on that Coast. Thus arriving a second time at *Artemisium*, they came to an anchor: And ever since, even to this day, have given to *Neptune* the Surname of the *Deliverer*. On the other hand, the Barbarians seeing the Storm blown over, and the Sea quiet, weigh'd their Anchors; and coasting along the Shore of the Continent, passed the Promontory of *Migneſia*,

Magnesia, and stood into the Bay of *Pegasæa*. 'Tis reported, that in one part of the Country, adjacent to this Bay, *Hercules* was abandon'd by *Jason* and his Companions, whilst he went to take in fresh Water for the Voyage they design'd to *Aia* in *Colchis*, for the Golden Fleece; and that the Place goes by the Name of *Aphete*, on account of this Action. Into that Station the Persian Fleet retir'd: But fifteen of their Ships, which put to Sea some time after the rest, seeing the Grecians about *Artemisium*, and thinking they were Friends, fell in among their Enemies. The Barbarians were commanded by *Sandoces*, the Son of *Thaumasius*, Governour of *Cyme*, an Æolian City. He had been formerly condemned by *Darius* to be crucified, for taking a Bribe to pronounce an unjust Sentence, when he was one of the Royal Judges. But whilst he was actually hanging on the Cross, the King considering with himself, that the Services he had done to his Family, were greater than his Crime, and that his Condemnation was rather the Effect of Passion than of Prudence, ordered him to be set at liberty. In this manner he escaped the Punishment, to which he had been condemned by *Darius*: But now falling in among the Grecians, he found no way to escape. For when they saw him making towards them, they presently perceiv'd the Mistake, and advancing to meet him, soon made themselves Masters of all the Ships. In one of these, *Aridolis*, the Carian Tyrant of *Alabanda*, was taken; and in another, *Pentylus*, the Son of *Demonous*, Commander of the Paphians: He had twelve Ships when he sail'd from *Paphos*; but having lost eleven in the Storm, he was taken at *Artemisium*,

sium, with only one remaining of that number. When the Grecians had examin'd the Prisoners, and made inquiry into such things as they desir'd to know, concerning the Forces of *Xerxes*, they sent them away under a Guard to the Isthmus of *Corinth*: The rest of the Barbarian Fleet, except these fifteen Ships, which were under the Conduct of *Sandoces*, arriv'd safe at *Aphete*.

IN the mean time *Xerxes*, with the Land-Forces, marched from *Theffaly*, and advancing by the way of *Achaia*, arriv'd on the third day in the Territories of the Melians. In *Theffaly* he made tryal of the Swiftness of his Mares, against those of that Country, which he had heard were the fleetest of all *Greece*; and the Grecian Mares were left far behind in the Race. Of all the Rivers of *Theffaly*, only the *Onochonus* had not a sufficient Quantity of Water for the Use of the Army: whereas the *Apidanus*, which is the greatest River of *Achaia*, could hardly afford enough to supply their Necessities. When *Xerxes* arriv'd at *Alus* in *Achaia*, his Guides, who were always ready to inform him of every thing remarkable, gave him an account of the Tradition of the Country, concerning the Temple of the Aphlystian *Jupiter*, and how *Athamæs*, the Son of *Æolus*, conspir'd with *Inus* to take away the Life of *Phryxus*. They told him, that the Achaians, to punish his Descendants, decreed, by the Counsel of an Oracle, that the eldest Person of his Race should never be permitted to enter into the Senate, which they call *Leitum*; and that, if ever he should presume to go in, he should not go out again, except in order to be sacrific'd: So that many, for fear of

this Punishment, chose rather to abandon the Country : That in succeeding time, when any one of these return'd, and happen'd to be taken in the *Prytaneum*, they cover'd his Body with sacred Fillets, and led him out in great Ceremony to be sacrificed : That the Posterity of *Cytissorus*, the Son of *Phryxus*, became liable to the same Punishment ; because, when the Achaians, by the Advice of an Oracle, were ready to expiate this Guilt with the Sacrifice of *Athamas*, the Son of *Æolus*, *Cytissorus* arriving in that instant from *Aia* in *Colchis*, forced him out of their hands, and by that Action drew the Anger of the Gods upon his Descendants. When *Xerxes* had heard this Relation, and was come to the sacred Grove, he not only left the Place untouched, but commanded all the Army to follow his Example ; shewing great Regard to the Temple of *Athamas*, and even to the Houses of his Posterity. Having done these things in *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, he arriv'd at the City of *Melis*, situate in a Bay near the Sea, where the Tides ebb and flow every day. About this Shore lies a Plain of a considerable Breadth in one Part, and very narrow in the other ; inclos'd by high and inaccessible Mountains, which, surrounding the whole Country of the Melians, are known by the Name of the Trachinean Rocks. The first City that appears in this Bay, to those who come from *Achain*, is *Anticyra*, by which the River *Sperchius*, descending from *Eniene*, falls into the Sea : And about twenty Stades from thence, another River is seen, called the *Dyras* ; which, they say, rose up to succour *Hercules* when he was struggling with the Flames. At a like Distance

stance from this, we meet with the River *Melas*; and five Stades farther, the City of *Trachis* is built in the most spacious Part of all the Plain; which in that Place contains two and twenty thousand Plethrons in breadth. In these Mountains that surround the Plain, a Passage is open on the South side of *Trachis*, through which the River *Asopus* runs, at the foot of the Hills. Another River, not very large, called the *Phœnix*, descending Northward from the same Mountains, falls into the *Asopus*. The way is so narrow by the River *Phœnix*, that no more than one Chariot can pass. *Thermopyle* is fifteen Stades beyond that River; and between both lies the Town of *Anthela*. The *Asopus* passes by this Place, and afterwards falls into the Sea. The Country about *Anthela* is open, and has a Temple dedicated to the Amphictyonian *Ceres*; in which are the Seats of the Amphictyons, and the Chapel of *Amphictyon* himself.

THE Persian King encamp'd with his Army in the Plain of *Trachis*, belonging to the Melians; and the Grecians at the Pass, which, by the Inhabitants of the Place, and their Neighbours, is call'd *Pyle*, and by the greater part of *Greece*, *Thermopyle*. *Xerxes* was in possession of all the Countries that lie to the Northward, down to *Trachis*; and the Grecians of those Parts of that Continent, which lean to the South, and South-West. The Grecians drawn together in this Place to sustain the Assault of the Persian Army, were these: Three hundred Spartans in heavy Armour; one thousand Tegeans, and a like number from *Mantinea*: One hundred and twenty

Arcadians of *Orchomenus*, and one thousand more from the other Parts of *Arcadia*: Four hundred Corinthians; two hundred Men from *Phlius*, and fourscore from *Mycene*. All these were Peloponnesians. Of the Boeotians, seven hundred Thebans, and four hundred Thespians. These Grecians invited the Locrians of *Opus* to join them with all their Forces, and the Phocæans with a thousand Men; representing by a Message, that they were already arriv'd, and daily expected the rest of their Confederates: That the Sea was sufficiently guarded by the Athenians, the Æginetes, and others, who were intrusted with the Conduct of the Naval Forces; and that they had nothing to fear: That the Invader was not a God, but a Man; and that no Mortal ever was, or ever should be born, exempted from the Calamities of Life, which attend the greatest in the greatest proportion; and therefore, the Enemy being no more than a Man, might find himself mistaken in the Opinion he had entertain'd. Persuaded by this Exhortation, these People also march'd to assist their Allies in the Country of *Trachis*. The Nations that compos'd these Forces had their own particular Leaders; but the General, who was in most esteem, and had the command of all, was *Leonidas*, a Lacedemonian, the Son of *Anaxandrides*, descended from *Leon*, *Eurycratides*, *Anaxander*, *Eurycrates*, *Polydorus*, *Alcmenes*, *Teleclus*, *Archelans*, *Agesilaus*, *Doryagus*, *Leobotes*, *Echestratus*, *Hegesias*, *Eurythenes*, *Aristodemus*, *Aristomachus*, *Cleodæus*, *Hylus*, and *Hercules*. He became King of *Sparta*, contrary to his own Expectation: For during the Lives of *Cleomenes* and *Dorieus*, his elder Brothers, he was far from thinking to obtain the

King-

Kingdom. But after the Death of *Cleomene*, who left no Son to succeed him, the Kingdom descended to *Leonidas*; because *Darius* was dead before in *Sicily*, and he himself was elder than *Cleombrotus*, the youngest of all the Sons of *Anaxandrides*, and had married the Daughter of *Cleomenes*. He marched to *Thermopyle* at the head of three hundred Spartans, all chosen by himself; Men of mature Years, and Fathers of Sons. In his March he took the Thebans with him, amounting to the Numbers I mention'd before, and led by *Leontiades* the Son of *Eurymachus*. This he did industriously and with design, because they of all the Grecians were the People he most suspected to favour the Medes; by that means resolving to see whether they would accompany him in this Expedition, or openly renounce their Alliance with the Grecians. But the Thebans, tho they had no good Intentions, yet would not omit to furnish their Part. The Spartans sent these Men with *Leonidas* before the rest of their Troops, to the end that the Confederates seeing their Diligence, might be encourag'd to take the Field, and not think of siding with the Medes, tho these should be defeated: determining after the Carnian Festival, which they were then celebrating, to leave some Forces for the Guard of the City, and to march immediately with their whole Strength to the Defence of *Greece*. The rest of their Confederates taking like Measures, because the new Olympiad began at that time, and not imagining the Dispute at *Thermopyle* could so soon be decided; dispatch'd some of their Men before to the Rendevouz. In the mean while those Grecians,

cians, who were already arrived at *Thermopyle*, seeing the Persian advance so near the Pass, and apprehending the Event, began to think of retiring. All the Peloponnesians, except the Spartans, were of opinion they should march away to *Peloponnesus*, and defend the Isthmus of *Corinth*. But *Leonidas* perceiving the Phocæans and Locrians offended with the Indignity of that Proposition, determin'd them all to stay, and to dispatch Messengers to the Confederates, with Instructions to desire Succour, because they were not sufficient to resist the Army of the Medes.

DURING the time of these Deliberations, *Xerxes* sent a Scout on horseback to view their Numbers, and to discover how they were employ'd. For whilst he staid in *Thessaly* he was inform'd that the Grecians had assembled a small Army, in which the Lacedemonians had the principal Authority; and that *Leonidas*, of the Race of *Hercules*, was their General. The Scout approaching the Grecian Camp, could not see their whole Force, because the Wall, which they had rebuilt, covered all those who were upon the Guard within; so that he discovered no more of their Men, than those who were on the other side, with their Arms lying before the Wall. On that day the Lacedemonians happened to be without, as their Turn was; and by that means he saw some of them performing their Exercises, and others putting their Hair in order. When he had seen these things with Astonishment, and inform'd himself of their Number, he retired at his leisure; no Man pursuing, nor seeming to take any notice of him. At his Return he gave an account to

Xerxes

Xerxes of every thing he had discovered: But when the King had heard his Report, he could not imagine that the Grecians were come thither only as Men prepared to die, and to destroy as many of their Enemies as they could; tho nothing was more true. And therefore deriding the Vanity of their Enterprize, he sent for *Demaratus* the Son of *Ariston*, who was then in the Army; and when he was come into his Presence, examined him touching each Particular, shewing himself desirous to know what the Lacedemonians might mean by the Measures they had taken. "SIR, said *Demaratus*, You have already heard my Opinion concerning these Men, when we were about to invade *Greece*: And tho I told you no more than I foresaw would come to pass, you entertain'd my Discourse with Derision. I know the Danger of defending Truth against the King: yet I desire you would hear me once more. These Spartans are advanced to this Place with a Resolution to fight, and are now preparing themselves to dispute our Passage; for their Custom is to put their Hair in order when they are going to expose their Lives to the greatest Dangers. But if you conquer these Lacedemonians, and those they left behind in *Sparta*, be assur'd no other Nation will dare to lift up a Hand against your Power. For you are now to attack the most valiant Men, and the best govern'd State of all *Greece*." These things seeming incredible to *Xerxes*, he ask'd him again how so small a Number could possibly relift his Army. "O King, replied *Demaratus*, deal with me as with a Lyar, if every thing

“ I have said come not to pass.’ Nevertheless his Words made no impression upon *Xerxes*; who being still in hope they would retire, undertook nothing during four Days after this Discourse. But on the fifth Day, perceiving they were not yet withdrawn, and imputing their Stay to Arrogance and Rashness; transported with Indignation, he sent out the Medes and the Cissians, with Orders to take them alive, and bring them Prisoners to him. They attack’d the Grecians furiously, but were repulsed with considerable Slaughter; and tho the Places of those that fell were incessantly supplied by others, yet they could not succeed in their Attempt: the great Loss they sustained, plainly demonstrating to all, no less than to the King, that they were indeed many Men, but few Soldiers. This Action happen’d by day. When the Medes saw they could maintain the Fight no longer, they retir’d; and in their room *Hydarnes* advanc’d with that Body of Persians who by the King were call’d *immortal*, not doubting to put an end to the Dispute. But when they came to close with the Grecians, they succeeded no better than the Medes. For they fought in a narrow Pass, and their pointed Arms being shorter than those of the Grecians, render’d their Numbers useless. The Lacedemonians deserve ever to be remember’d with Honour for the Actions they perform’d that day; in which, among other things, they shew’d how much they were superior to the Enemy in Military Knowledge. For whenever they retired, they made their Retreat in close order: And when they found they were pursued by the Barbarians with noise

and

and shouting, then facing about on a sudden, they kill'd an inconceivable Number of the Persians, with little Loss on their side. So that after the Enemy had in vain attempted to force the Pass, both in separate Bodies, and all together, they were at last obliged to retire. The Report is, that the King, who was Spectator of this Fight, rose thrice from his Seat during the Action, being under great Apprehensions of losing his Army. The next day the Barbarians, considering how few the Grecians were in number, and supposing so many of them to be already wounded, that they would not be able to maintain a second Fight, resolved to make another Attempt; in which they had no better Success than before. For the Grecians having drawn up their Forces in good order, and in national Bodies, excepting only the Phocæans, who were sent to guard the Passage of the Mountain, gave them so warm a Reception, that the Persians finding no probability of succeeding better than they had done the preceding day, abandon'd their Enterprize.

BUT whilst the King was doubtful what Measures he should take in this State of Affairs, *Epiaktes* the Son of *Eurydemus* a Melian, coming to him in expectation of a great Reward, inform'd him of the Passage which leads to *Thermopyle* by the way of the Mountain; and by that means caused the Dispersion of those who were left there for a Guard. Afterwards, fearing the Indignation of the Lacedemonians, he fled to *Thessaly*: And during his Flight the Assembly of Amphictyons held at *Pyle* proscrib'd him, and set a Price upon his Head. But after some

some time he was kill'd at *Anticyra* by *Athenades* a Trachinian; who, though he kill'd him for another reason, which I shall mention hereafter, was yet rewarded by the Lacedemonians. Some indeed relate this Story in a different manner, and pretend, that *Onates* the Son of *Phanagoras*, a Carystian, and *Corydalus* of *Anticyra*, were the Men who discovered the Passage to the King, and conducted the Persians by the way of the Mountain. But to me this seems altogether incredible; partly because we ought to believe, that when the Amphyctyons set a Price upon the Head of *Epiates* the Trachinian, and not upon *Onates* and *Corydalus*, they were perfectly well inform'd of his Guilt. In the second place, we are certain *Epiates* ran away on this Occasion. And lastly, *Onates* not being a Melian, could not well be acquainted with this way, unless he had been much conversant in that Country. From all which I conclude, that *Epiates* was the Enemies Guide, and guilty of betraying the Passage to the Persians.

XERXES having heard with satisfaction what *Epiates* took upon him to perform, shew'd himself extremely pleas'd, and order'd *Hydarnes* to march away immediately with the Forces he commanded. In the Evening *Hydarnes* began to advance towards the way, by which formerly the Inhabitants of *Melis*, who were the first Discoverers, conducted the Thessalians against the Phocæans; when, having built a Wall to defend the other Pass, they thought themselves secure from any such Attempt. This Passage is not at all fortifi'd, because not useful to the Melians; and beginning at the River *Asopus* (which

(which passes thro' an Aperture of the Mountain *Anopæa*) goes under the same Name with the Mountain; and extending along the back of the Hills, leads down to *Alpeni*, a Locrian City near the Frontier of *Melis*, by the Stone of *Melampygus*, and the Seats of the Cercopians; where the Way is more narrow than in any other part. In this Passage, thus situate, the Persians march'd all night, after they had pass'd the River *Asopus*, having the Mountains of *Oeta* on their Right, and those of *Trachis* on their Left-hand; and at Day-break arrived at the top of the Hills: where, as I have already said, a thousand Phocæans were posted, as well to secure their own Country, as to prevent an Irruption on that side. For the lower Pass was guarded by those I mention'd before: And the Phocæans had voluntarily undertaken to *Leonidas* to defend that of the Mountain. The Persians were not discover'd by the Phocæans till they had reach'd the top of the Hills, having been all that time conceal'd by the great number of Oaks which grew in the way. But then, the noise of the Leaves they trod upon, gave notice of their Approach; the rather, because the Air was perfectly serene and quiet. Upon this Alarm the Phocæans ran to their Arms, and had no sooner put themselves in order, than the Barbarians appear'd; but were not a little surpriz'd to find such a Body of Men, in a place where they expected not to meet with any Resistance. *Hydarnes* fearing the Phocæans might be Lacedemonians, demanded of *Epialtes*, of what Nation the Enemy was; and being inform'd who they were, he drew up the Persians in order of Battel.

The Phocæans

Phœcians finding themselves gall'd by the great numbers of Darts, which the Persians threw incessantly among them, retir'd with precipitation to the highest part of the Mountain ; and being persuaded that this Enterprise was form'd against them, prepar'd to die gallantly. But *Epioltes* and *Hydarnes*, with the Persians, neglecting to follow the Phœcians, as a thing of little importance, march'd down from the Mountain with all possible expedition. The Augur *Megistias* having inspected the Sacrifices, was the first who acquainted the Grecians at *Thermopyle*, that they were all threaten'd with Death. After which, certain Deserters arriving in the night, gave notice, that the Persians were passing over the Mountain : And at day-break the ordinary Guard came running from the Hills with the same Advice. Upon this the Grecians call'd a Council of War, and divided in their Opinions. For some would not hear of abandoning their Station, and others were of a contrary Sentiment. In this confusion they separated, and one part of their Forces return'd home, whilst the rest with *Leonidas* prepar'd themselves to receive the Enemy. Some say, that *Leonidas*, out of an earnest desire to preserve their Lives, dismiss'd all those who march'd away ; but that he and the Spartans with him, thought themselves obliged in honour to maintain the Post they came to defend. For my own part, I incline to think, that *Leonidas* observing his Allies averse and unwilling to run the same hazard with him, gave them leave to retire ; and that he himself resolv'd to stay, in order to preserve his own Reputation, to leave a glorious Name behind him, and

and to secure the Felicity of *Sparta*. For the Spartans having already consulted the Pythian touching the Event of this War, had receiv'd for Answer, That *Sparta* should be destroyed by the Barbarians, or their King should lose his Life. The Oracle was deliver'd in the following Hexameters :

*The Spartan Plains shall feel the Persian Rage,
Their City under Servitude shall groan ;
Unless a King, born of Herculean Race,
Oppress'd in War, shall die to save the rest.*

My Opinion therefore is, that *Leonidas* revolving these things in his mind, and being desirous that the Spartans alone should have the Glory of this Action, sent away the Confederates; and not, that those who marched away, separated themselves from the rest in an indecent manner, on account of their mutual Animosities. The Conduct of *Leonidas* himself is no small Argument to confirm what I say: For since, among others, he would have dismiss'd *Megistias* the Acarnian, who was reported to be descended from *Melampus*, and had predicted the Event of this Enterprize by inspecting the Sacrifices, nothing is more manifest than that he gave him leave to depart, lest he should perish with the Spartans; tho' *Megistias* would not make use of that Permission, but contented himself to send home his only Son, who had attended him on this occasion. So that in truth the Allies, that went away, retired by the Persuasion of *Leonidas*: Only the Thessalians and the Thebans remain'd with the Lacedemonians; the Thebans indeed unwillingly,

ly, and against their Inclination, detain'd as Hostages by *Leonidas*; but the Thespians voluntarily, and with their Leader *Demophilus*, the Son of *Diadromeus*, constantly refusing to abandon *Leonidas* and his Spartans, died with them in the Field.

XERXES, after he had pour'd out a Libation at the time of the rising of the Sun, and staid till the hour Men usually meet in the publick Places, began to move on with his Army, as *Epiatles* had advis'd; because the Descent of the Mountain is much shorter and more free from Windings than the Ascent. Upon their Approach, *Leonidas*, with the Grecians, leaving the Wall guarded, advanced to the broadest part of the Passage, in far greater expectation of Death than at any time before. They fought the preceding Days in the narrowest way of the Pass; but now engaging in the widest, great numbers of the Barbarians fell: for their Officers standing behind the Divisions they commanded, forced them to advance with Blows and Menaces; so that many falling into the Sea were drowned, and many more were trampled under foot, without any regard had to those that perished. The Grecians, on their part, knowing they could not avoid Death upon the Arrival of those who were coming by the way of the Mountain, pushed on desperately, and exerted their utmost Efforts against the Barbarians. And because most of their Javelins were already broken, they drew their Swords, and made a great Slaughter among the Persians. In this Action fell *Leonidas*, after he had done all that a brave Man could do; and with him other eminent Spartans, whose Names

Names I have heard repeated with Honour, as well as the rest of the three hundred. The Loss of the Persians was great, and many illustrious Men were killed on their side. Among these *Abrocomes* and *Hyperanthes*, Sons of *Darius*, by *Phrataguna*, the Daughter of his Brother *Atarnes*, who was Son to *Hystaspes*, and Grandson to *Arsames*. When *Atarnes* married his Daughter to *Darius*, he gave him all his Possessions, because he had no other Offspring. These two Brothers of *Xerxes* were killed fighting for the Body of *Leonidas*, which the Lacedemonians and Persians obstinately disputed, till at last the Grecians rescued it by their Valour, and four times repuls'd the Enemy. This was the State of things, when the Army with *Epiatles* arriv'd ; of which the Grecians were no sooner inform'd, than Victory shifted to the other side : For returning into the narrow way, and passing within the Wall, they all drew together, except the Thebans, and posted themselves in close Order on a rising Ground, where a Lion of Stone is now seen, erected for a Monument to *Leonidas*. In this place they defended themselves, with the Swords they had left, against the Barbarians, who pour'd in from every part with a horrible Noise ; some beating down the Wall, and entering by the Breaches, whilst Multitudes of others came in, and surrounded them on all sides. The general Opinion is, that tho' the Lacedemonians and Thespians shew'd such invincible Courage, yet *Dieneces* the Spartan distinguish'd himself beyond all others : And when a Trachinian told him, before the Fight began, that the Multitude of the Barbarians was so great, that they would

would let fly such a number of Arrows at once, as should hide the Light of the Sun ; he was so far from being astonish'd, that, in contempt of their Numbers, he said, The News was good ; and that if the Sun was intercepted by the Medes, they should then fight in the Shade. This, and other memorable Sayings, are attributed to *Dieneces* the Lacedemonian. After him those who signalized themselves most among the Lacedemonians, were two Brothers, *Alpheus* and *Maron*, Sons of *Orisiphantus* ; and of the Thespians, *Dithyrambus*, the Son of *Harmatideus*. They were all buried in the Place where they fought, as well those who fell in this Action, as those who were killed before *Leonidas* dismissed the Confederates ; and a Monument was erected to their Memory, with this Inscription :

*Four thousand Men, from antient Pelops nam'd,
Upon this Ground against three Millions fought.*

This Epitaph was made for all ; that which follows only for the Lacedemonians :

*Go, Friend, acquaint the Spartans how we fell
With Glory, and their just Commands obey'd.*

Besides these, there was another Inscription for the Prophet *Megistias*, conceiv'd in these words :

*Slain by the Medes, divine Megistias lies
Under this Stone ; he saw approaching Fate
With Heart undaunted, and refus'd to live
When the brave Spartans had resolv'd to die.*

The

The two former Inscriptions were order'd by the Amphictyons ; but this of *Megistias* was erected by *Simonides*, the Son of *Leoprepes*, in testimony of their mutual Friendship. Some say, that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, two of the three hundred Lacedemonians, being desperately afflicted with a Disease of the Eyes, retir'd to *Alpeni* by the permission of *Leonidas* ; and though they might have preserved their Lives by returning to *Sparta*, or, refusing to return, might have died with the rest, they could not agree in either ; but continu'd to differ in their Opinions, till at last *Eurytus* hearing the Persians were arrived by the way of the Mountain, call'd for his Arms ; and when he had them on, order'd his Servant to lead him into the Field of Battel ; where falling in among the thickest of the Enemy, he lost his Life : whilst *Aristodemus*, wanting Courage, staid behind at *Alpeni*. As for the Servant of *Eurytus*, he had no sooner conducted his Master to the Place where the Fight was, than he left him, and ran away. Now if *Aristodemus* alone had been disabled by his Distemper, and in that Condition had return'd to *Sparta* ; or if both had gone home together, I cannot think the Lacedemonians would have been displeased. But one of these dying in the Field, put them under a necessity of shewing their Resentment against the Survivor ; who refus'd to die, albeit he was in the same Circumstance with the other. Thus, some Men say, *Aristodemus* return'd safe to *Sparta*, under colour of his Disease ; but others pretend, that being sent with Orders from the Army, he might have been present at the Fight, and would not, tho his Companion ar-

riv'd in due time, and died in the Field. However, at his Return, he was punish'd with Ignominy and Contempt : with Contempt, in that no Lacedemonian would converse with him, or suffer him to make use of his Fire ; with Ignominy, in that they gave him the name of *Aristodemus* the Fugitive. But he afterwards wiped off all the Guilt of this Action, by his Behaviour at the Battel of *Plataea*. They say also, that another of the three hundred, whose Name was *Pantites*, having been sent on a Message to *Thessaly*, surviv'd this Action, and return'd to *Sparta* ; but being unable to bear the Reproaches of the Spartans, he strangled himself. As for the Thebans, and their General *Leontiades*, they were necessitated for some time to fight against the King's Army, in conjunction with the Grecians : but they no sooner saw the Persians victorious, than they abandon'd the rest of their Allies, as they were hastening to the Hill ; and with extended Hands approaching the Barbarians, most truly said, That they had always been Partizans of the Medes ; that they were among the first who presented the King with Earth and Water ; that they came to *Thermopyle* by force, and were no way guilty of the Loss he had sustain'd. By these words, which the Thessalians confirm'd with their Testimony, the Thebans saved their Lives, but had no great reason to boast : For the Barbarians killed many of their Men, as they advanc'd to surrender themselves ; and, by the Command of *Xerxes*, branded a much greater number with the Royal Mark, beginning at their General *Leontiades* ; whose Son *Eurymachus* having afterwards surpriz'd the

City

City of *Platæa*, at the head of four hundred Thebans, was killed by the Platæans. Thus the Grecians fought at *Thermopyle*.

UPON this Event, *Xerxes* having sent for *Demaratus*, began his Discourse in this manner : “ *Demaratus*, said he, I find, by the certain Evidence of Truth, that you are a Man of Probity ; for all things have happen’d as you foretold. Tell me now how many the rest of the Lacedemonians may be ? What Number of such Men as these they can bring into the Field ? And whether they have all the same Courage ? ” “ SIR, said *Demaratus*, the Lacedemonians are numerous, and have many Cities ; but I shall inform you of that which you desire to know. The City of *Sparta* has about eight thousand Men, all equal in Valour to those who have fought on this Occasion ; and the rest of the Lacedemonians are valiant, tho not altogether like these.” “ Let me know then, said *Xerxes*, the readiest way to conquer these Men, for you have been their King, and consequently are well acquainted with the Tendency of their Counsels.” “ SIR, reply’d *Demaratus*, since you condescend to ask my Advice, I am bound to give you the best I can : The most probable way to effect your Design, is, to send a Fleet of three hundred Ships to the Lacedemonian Coast. For there is an Island, call’d *Cythera*, lying off that Shore ; which *Chilon*, one of the wisest Men of our Nation, said would be more advantageous to the Spartans, if drown’d in the bottom of the Sea, than in the present Situation : always apprehending such an Enterprize, as I

" am about to propose : Not that he foresaw
 " the Arrival of your Fleet, but fearing such
 " an Attempt might be made at one time or
 " other. From this Island you may continual-
 " ly alarm the Lacedemonians ; who finding
 " themselves involved in a defensive War at
 " home, will be no longer formidable to you,
 " nor in a condition to succour the rest of the
 " Grecians, when they shall be attack'd by
 " your Land-Forces. In a word, when by
 " this means you have subdued the other parts
 " of *Greece*, the Lacedemonians alone will not
 " be able to resist. But if you act otherwise,
 " expect another kind of Event : For the Pe-
 " loponnesians have in their Country a narrow
 " Isthmus, to which they will not fail to draw
 " all their Forces, and constrain you to engage
 " in Actions more bloody than you have yet
 " seen ; whereas if you put my Advice in exe-
 " cution, not only the Isthmus, but their Ci-
 " ties also will be yours without hazard."

When he had finish'd these words, *Achæmenes*,
 Brother to *Xerxes*, and Commander in chief at
 Sea, being present at this Discourse, and fear-
 ing the King might be induc'd to follow the
 Counsel of *Demaratus* ; " SIR, said he, I per-
 " ceive you hearken to the Suggestions of a
 " Man, who either envies your Prosperity, or
 " perhaps would betray your Affairs. For the
 " constant manner of the Grecians is to envy
 " the Fortunate, and to hate the Powerful :
 " If therefore, after you have lost four hun-
 " dred Ships by the Storm, you should send
 " three hundred more to hover about the Coast
 " of *Peloponnesus*, our Enemies might fight us
 " upon equal Terms ; but will never dare to
 " engage

" engage us, if our Fleet be kept in a Body,
 " because we shall be much superior in num-
 " ber. Besides, if the whole Fleet be order'd
 " to attend the Motions of the Land-Army,
 " they will be able mutually to assist each o-
 " ther; whereas if you separate your Naval
 " Forces, they can be no way useful to you,
 " nor you to them. Would you then have all
 " to go well, resolve not to enter into a parti-
 " cular Discussion of your Enemy's Affairs,
 " nor inquire what they will do, where they
 " will make a Stand, or what Numbers they
 " are? They best know how to take care of
 " themselves, and we, on our part, no less. If
 " the Lacedemonians dare venture a Battel a-
 " gainst the Persians, they will find no Cure for
 " such a Blow as they must of necessity re-
 " ceive." " *Achemænes, reply'd Xerxes,* I ap-
 " prove your Reasons, and will do as you ad-
 " vise; but I am persuaded *Demaratus* gave me
 " that Counsel which he thought most advan-
 " tageous to me, tho' at the same time I think
 " your Opinion more rational; for I ~~can~~ by
 " no means suspect him of Disaffection to my
 " Affairs, when I duly consider his former
 " Discourses all confirm'd by the Event. A
 " Citizen indeed generally envies his Fellow-
 " Citizen, if he sees him prosper; he hates him
 " privately, and unless he hath attain'd to an
 " uncommon Degree of Virtue, will not give
 " him Counsel with sincerity. But a Friend
 " loves to see his Friend in Prosperity, and, if
 " he ask his Advice, always gives him the best
 " he can. For the future therefore I enjoin all
 " Men to abstain from such indecent Expres-
 " sions concerning *Demaratus*, who is my Host

“ and Friend.” When *Xerxes* had said these words, he went out among the Dead ; and having heard that *Leonidas* was King and General of the Lacedemonians, he commanded his Head to be taken off, and fixed upon a Pole. By which Action, and many other Proofs, I am persuaded that *Xerxes* was highly incensed against *Leonidas* during his Life, else he would not have violated the Laws of Humanity upon his dead Body ; because the Persians are accustom'd to pay a greater Reverence to Men eminent in military Virtue, than any other Nation we know. However, the King's Command was executed in the manner he had order'd. But to return to my Narration.

THE Lacedemonians were the first who had notice of the King's Expedition against *Greece* ; and on that occasion sending to the Oracle at *Delphi*, receiv'd the Answer I lately mention'd. But the way, by which they had their Information, deserves to be remember'd. *Demaratus*, the Son of *Ariston*, being at that time an Exile among the Medes, had, as I conjecture, and Appearances confirm, no great Kindness for the Lacedemonians : But whether he acted in this Affair by a Motive of Affection, or in order to insult his Country, I shall leave to the Judgment of others ; yet when *Xerxes* had resolv'd to make war against *Greece*, and *Demaratus*, who was then in *Susa*, had heard of his Intention, he determin'd to acquaint the Lacedemonians with the Design. But because he could contrive no other means, and apprehended the Danger of a Discovery, he fell upon this Invention ; He took a double Table-Book, and having shav'd off the Wax, he engrav'd

grav'd the King's Resolution on the Wood; which when he had done, he laid another Covering of Wax upon the Letters, that his Messenger might meet with no Impediment from the Guards of the way. In this manner the Table-Book was brought to *Sparta*; but the Lacedemonians could not comprehend the Secret, till *Gorgo*, the Daughter of *Cleomenes*, and Wife to *Leonidas*, making a right Conjecture, bid them break up the Wax, and they should find Letters written underneath. The Lacedemonians did as she order'd, and after they had read the Contents, sent the Letters to the rest of the Grecians.





THE
History of *Herodotus*.

BOOK VIII.

VARANIA.

THESE things are thus reported ; and as for the Naval Forces of the Grecians, they were compos'd of the following numbers : The Athenians furnished one hundred and twenty seven Ships, mounted by themselves, and the Platæans ; who with great Alacrity and Courage, tho' unexperienced in Sea-Affairs, went on board with them. The Corinthians brought in forty Sail, the Megareans twenty ; the Chalcidæans mann'd twenty Ships, borrow'd of the Athenians ; the People of Ægina furnished eighteen Sail, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two. The Chians contributed two Ships of War, with two Gallies of fifty Oars each ; and the Locrians of *Opus* brought in seven Gallies of like force. All these Ships, being two hundred and seventy one in number, besides

besides the Gallies, had their Station at *Artemisium*; and the principal Command was in the hands of *Eurybiades*, the Son of *Euryclides*, nominated to that Dignity by the Spartans, because the Confederates had declar'd, that they would not follow the Athenians, but would break the Fleet, and return home, unless they might have a Lacedemonian for their Leader. For before they sent Ambassadors to make an Alliance in *Sicily*, they had debated about the Expediency of giving the Condu&t of the Naval Forces to the Athenians. But the Athenians finding the Confederates averse to that Proposal, and being extremely desirous to preserve *Greece*, which they knew must inevitably be destroy'd, if they should split into Factions for the Precedency, desisted voluntarily, and gave a great Proof of their Wisdom in so doing: For intestine Dissensions are by so much more pernicious than a War carried on with Unanimity, as War in general is more prejudicial than Peace. This they well understood, and therefore chose rather to recede from their Pretensions, than to contend in that Exigency of Affairs, as the Event demonstrated. For when they had driven out the Persian, and carried the War into his own Territories, they took occasion from the Arrogance of *Pausanias*, to deprive the Lacedemonians of the chief Command; but these things were done afterwards.

IN the mean time the Grecians at *Artemisium* seeing a prodigious number of the Enemies Ships at *Apkete*, all Places fill'd with their Forces, and the Barbarians successful beyond their Expectation and Opinion; in a great Consternation deliberated to retire to the remotest Parts of *Greece*.

Greece. The Eubœans hearing of this Consultation, earnestly begg'd of *Eurybiades* to defer the Departure of the Fleet, till they could carry off their Children and Families: But finding him inflexible, they addressed themselves to *Themistocles*, the Athenian General, and by a Present of thirty Talents prevail'd with him to promise, that they would stay and fight the Enemy on that Coast; which he effected in this manner: He gave five Talents of this Money to *Eurybiades*, as from himself; and having gain'd his Consent by that means, he went to the Corinthian Commander, *Adimantus*, the Son of *Ocytus*; because he was now the only Person, who refusing to stay, had peremptorily declar'd he would leave *Artemisium*, and with an Oath said to him, “ *Adimantus*, you shall not abandon us; for I will make you a greater Present than the King of the Medes would send you for deserting the Allies.” When he had spoken these Words, he presently sent him three Talents of Silver on board his Ship; and by this Bribery, having prevail'd with the Commanders to stay, he at once gratify'd the Eubœans, and secur'd all the rest to himself; whilst those who took part of the Money, knew nothing of the Remainder, but thought the Athenians had entrusted him with that Sum, to be employed in such an Occasion. Thus the Grecians continued on the Coast of *Eubœa*, till they came to an Engagement; which happen'd in this manner: The Barbarians arriving in the Road of *Aphete* about Day-break, and observing that the Grecians were at *Artemisium* with a small number of Ships, as they had been already inform'd, shew'd a general Disposition to try if they

they could surprize them in that Station ; but they were not of opinion to attack them in front, lest the Grecians, seeing them approaching, should betake themselves to flight ; and favour'd by the ensuing Night, should make their escape : Whereas, in their account, every Ship was already condemn'd to fall into their hands, without excepting even that which carried the Light. In this Design they detach'd two hundred Ships, chosen out of all their Fleet, with Orders to sail behind *Sciathus*, and shape their Course to the *Euripus*, by *Caphareus* and *Gerestus*, that the Enemy might thus be circumvented, and not discover them passing along the Coast of *Eubæa*: Not doubting, by this Force, to prevent their Escape on that side, whilst all the rest of the Fleet should attack them in front. When they had taken this Resolution, they sent away the two hundred Ships ; and determining to attempt nothing against the Grecians that day, nor before they should see the Signal agreed upon, to notify the Arrival of their Detachment, they applied themselves to take a view of their Numbers remaining at *Aphete*. In this Fleet was *Syllias*, a Native of *Scyone*, who being the best Diver of his time, had sav'd for the Use of the Persians a great part of the Treasure sunk in the Shipwreck at *Pelion*, and diverted a considerable Sum to his own profit. He had been long desirous to go over to the Grecians, but not finding a proper Opportunity, had deferr'd his Design to the time of this Review. By what means he made his escape to the Grecians, I cannot certainly affirm, and am astonished at the account given of him : For the Report is, that he plung'd under water at *Aphete*, and rose

no more till he arriv'd at *Artemisium*; which Places are about fourscore Stades distant from each other. Many other things are related of this Man, that have the Air of Falshood; and some that are true. Yet after all, my Opinion is, that he made his Passage to *Artemisium* in a Boat. At his Arrival he inform'd the Commanders of the Particulars of the Shipwreck, and of the Ships that were ordered to sail round *Eubœa*: Which when the Grecians heard, they call'd a Council of War, and after divers Opinions had been propos'd, came to a Resolution, That they would continue in their Station all that day, and at midnight weigh anchor to advance to meet the Fleet, which was sent out to prevent their Escape: But not discovering any Ships making towards them, they lay by till Sun-set; and then advancing against the Barbarians, resolv'd to make a tryal of their Courage in Fight, and of their Skill in maritime Affairs. When the Enemy, both Officers and Soldiers, saw them approaching with so few Ships, they attributed their Enterprize to extreme Folly; and advancing likewise on their part, doubted not of an easy Victory: The truth is, they had great reason to expect Success. And therefore, seeing the Grecian Ships were few, and their own not only far more in number, but much better Sailors, they with Scorn encompassed them on all sides. Some of the Ionians retaining an Affection for the Grecians, were with regret among the Enemies Forces, and extremely concern'd to see them surrounded in such a manner; thinking their Condition so desperate, that not a Man could possibly escape. But others, pleas'd with their Distress, labour'd with all their

their might, who should take the first Athenian Ship, and merit a Recompence from the King : For the Athenians were in greater esteem among the Enemy than any of the other Confederates. At the first Signal the Grecians drew into a Circle, and turn'd the Heads of all their Ships against the Barbarians. At the second Signal they began the Fight, crowded into a narrow Compass, and having the Enemy in front on every part : yet in a short time they took thirty Ships from the Barbarians, with *Philaon*, the Son of *Chersis*, Brother to *Gorges*, King of the Salamians ; a Man highly esteem'd in their Army. *Lycomedes*, the Son of *Æschreus*, an Athenian, was the first who took a Ship from the Enemy, and was honour'd in the usual manner for that Action. But Night coming on, put an end to the Dispute, after they had fought with various Success on both sides ; the Grecians returning to *Artemisium*, and the Barbarians to *Aphete*, with less Good-fortune than they expected. In this Engagement, *Antidorus* the Lemnian was the only Grecian that revolted from the King ; and on that account, the Athenians rewarded him with Lands in *Salamis*. This Battel was fought in the midst of Summer ; and during all the Night, so prodigious a Storm of Rain fell, accompanied with hard Thunder, breaking out from about *Pelion*, that the dead Bodies, and Pieces of Wreck driven to *Aphete*, rolling to the Heads of their Ships, disturb'd the Order of their Oars : Which the Barbarians observing, were struck with Consternation, and expected nothing but Death, when they saw so many Calamities succeeding one another. For before they had recover'd Breath after the former Tempest and Shipwreck

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at Mount *Pelion*, they were forced to fight a dangerous Battel at Sea ; and before that Engagement was well over, were surpriz'd by impetuous Rains, and horrid Thunder, with Torrents of Water driving through the Sea. In this Terror they passed that Night : But those who had been ordered to sail round *Eubœa*, met with a much greater Disaster, and being out at Sea the same Night, they all perished miserably. For as they approached the Gulphs of *Eubœa*, the Storm and Rain fell upon them with such violence, that they were driven they knew not where, by the Force of the Winds, and dashed in pieces upon the Rocks. This the Gods did, to reduce the Persian Fleet to an Equality with that of the Grecians ; or at least, not to leave them so much superiour in number. And thus these Ships perished on the Coast of *Eubœa*.

THE Light of the next Day was welcome to the Barbarians at *Aphete* ; who keeping themselves quiet in their Station, were contented after their ill Success, to attempt nothing more for the present : On the other hand, the Grecians receiv'd a Reinforcement of fifty three Athenian Ships ; which, with the News they brought, that all the Barbarians that were sailing by *Eubœa*, had perished in the Storms, so heighten'd their Courage, that having waited to the same Hour they chose the day before, they attacked and ruin'd the Squadrons of the Cilicians, and return'd at night to *Artemisium*. On the third Day, the Commanders of the Barbarians, mov'd with Indignation to be thus insulted by a few Ships, and fearing the Displeasure of *Xerxes*, would not stay to be again attacked by the Grecians ; but encouraging their Men to acquit themselves valiantly,

liantly, unmoor'd about noon, and prepar'd to fight. These Actions by Sea happen'd on the same Days with those by Land at *Thermopyle*; and the Contest in both Places was of the same nature: For as *Leonidas*, and those who were with him, endeavour'd to defend the Pass of *Thermopyle*, so the naval Forces fought to prevent the Enemy from entring the *Euripus*; the Grecians, on theirpart, encouraging one another not to suffer the Barbarians to break into *Greece*; and these, on the other hand, animating their Men to force the Grecians, and make themselves Masters of the Passages.

IN this View, the Barbarians having drawn out their Fleet, advanc'd towards the Grecians; who lying quite at *Artemisium*, no sooner saw the Enemy approaching in the form of a Half-moon, and endeavouring to make sure of them, by surrounding their whole number, than they came out likewise, and fell on immediately. The Battel was fought with almost equal Success on both sides: For though the Enemies Ships, being large, and in great number, fell foul on each other, and confounded their Order, yet they continued to fight, and would not retire, because they were ashamed to be beaten by so few. So that many of the Grecian Ships perish'd in the Action, and many Men; but the Loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both. Thus they fought with equal Resolution, and after an obstinate Fight, retir'd to their former Stations. In this Battel the Ægyptians signaliz'd their Courage above the rest of the Enemies Forces; and, besides other memorable Actions, took five Grecian Ships, with all the Men on board. On the part of the Grecians, the Athenians behav'd them-

themselves with the greatest Valour; and among the Athenians, *Clinias* the Son of *Alcibiades*, who fought in his own Ship, which he had man'd with two hundred Men, maintain'd at his own Expence. But after both the Fleets had voluntarily separated, the Grecians, tho they were in possession of the Dead, and of all the Wreck; yet being in a shatter'd condition, and especially the Athenians, whose Ships were for the most part disabled, took into their consideration, whether they should retire to the remoter Parts of *Greece*. At the same time *Themistocles* persuad'd himself, that if they could prevail with the Ionians and Carians to abandon the Barbarians, they might be able to overcome the rest; and therefore as the Eubœans were driving their Cattel down to the Sicre, he assembled the Grecian Commanders together, and told them he had contriv'd a Stratagem, by which he hoped to deprive the King of the best of his Allies. He discover'd no more for the present; only adding, that in order to forward his Design, they should kill as many of the Cattel belonging to the Eubœans as they thought fit, because their own Army ought rather to have them than the Enemy. He also exhorted them to direct their Men to kindle Fires, and promis'd he would chuse so convenient a time for their departure, that they should all arrive safe in *Greece*. The Captains resolv'd to do as he advis'd; and after they had order'd Fires to be lighted, they began to seize the Cattel. For the Eubœans slighting the Answer they receiv'd from the Oracle of *Bacis*, as frivolous, had sent nothing away, nor brought in any thing; as Men would do, who expect a

War: and by that means had put themselves into ill Circumstances. The Oracle was conceiv'd in these Words:

*When a Barbarian with a Yoke of Hemp
Shall curb the Sea, then drive your Flocks and Herds
Far from Eubœan Shores.*

But the Eubœans shewing no regard to this Admonition, tho' they were in a bad condition at present, and in expectation of farther Misfortunes, fell into the greatest Distress.

IN the mean time a Messenger arriv'd Express from *Trachis*. For as *Polyas* of *Anticyra* was appointed to stay at *Artemisium*, and had a Vessel ready to attend him, in order to inform the Grecians at *Thermopyle*, if the Fleet should come to an Action; so *Abronychus* the Son of *Lysicles* an Athenian, was with *Leonidas*, and had Instructions to come away to *Artemisium* in a Galley of thirty Oars, if any thing considerable should happen to the Land-Forces. This *Abronychus* arriving, gave an account of what had befallen *Leonidas*, and those who were with him: Which when the Grecians heard, they resolved not to defer their Departure, but stood away immediately in the order they were; the Corinthians in the Van, and the Athenians in the Rear. *Themistocles*, at the same time, having chosen the nimblest of the Athenian Ships, sail'd to the place where they us'd to take in fresh Water, and engraved these Words upon the Stones: which were read the next day by the Ionians when they arrived at *Artemisium*: "Men o "Ienia, you are guilty of a heinous Crime "ii

“ in fighting against your Fathers, and helping to enslave *Greece*. Resolve therefore to come over to us: Or if you cannot do that, withdraw your Forces from the Enemy, and persuade the Carians to imitate your Example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an absolute necessity of continuing in the Persian Fleet, favour us at least when we come to an Engagement; and remember, that you are not only descended from us, but are the original Cause of the Barbarians Enmity against us.” I suppose *Themistocles* did this with a double View; hoping that if these Words were not discover’d to the King, he should induce the Ionians to come over to the Grecians; or if they were reported to him, and imputed to the Ionians for a Crime, he should bring them into such a Suspicion, that *Xerxes* would for the future refuse to accept their Assistance.

SOON after the departure of the Grecians, a certain Man of *Histiæa* arriving by Sea, gave the Barbarians an account of their Flight from *Artemisium*. But they suspecting the Messenger, secur’d him under a Guard, and sent out some light Vessels to discover the state of things. At their return, being inform’d of the Truth, all the Fleet weigh’d Anchor upon the rising of the Sun, and sailed directly to *Artemisium*; where they continued till about Noon, and then proceeding to *Histiæa*, possessed themselves of that City, and ravag’d all their Maritime Territories which are in the District of *Ellopin*. Whilst they were on this Coast, they receiv’d a Message from *Xerxes*, after he had disposed of the dead

Bodies of his Men as he thought most convenient. For of twenty thousand of his Army, who were kill'd at *Thermopyle*, leaving only one thousand unburied, he caused all the rest to be interred, with Leaves strew'd over their Bodies, and then cover'd with Earth, that they might not be seen by those who should come from the Fleet. When his Messenger arrived at *Histiæa*, he summoned a general meeting of all the Naval Forces, and said, “Friends and Allies, all those among you
“ that are desirous to see how the King’s Forces
“ have fought against inconsiderate Men, who
“ vainly imagin’d they could conquer his Army,
“ may leave this Station, and go to *Thermopyle*
“ with his Permission.” Upon which Notification the Number of those who went thither was so great, that the remaining Ships were very few. When they arriv’d, they view’d the Field of Battel, supposing all the Dead to be Lacedemonians and Thespians, tho indeed many Helots were among them: But the method *Xerxes* had taken to dispose of the Bodies of his own Men, could not be conceal’d from those who came from the Fleet. And indeed the thing was ridiculous, to shew only a thousand Barbarians kill’d, when all the four thousand Grecians lay dead in Heaps upon the spot. In this view they spent that day, and on the next return’d with their Ships to *Histiæa*, whilst *Xerxes* advanc’d with his Army. In his March a small number of Arcadians, indigent, and desirous of Employment, deserted to him; and being brought into the King’s Presence, were examin’d touching the Grecians. Among others, one of the Persians, in the name of all the rest, ask’d what the
Grecians

Grecians were then doing : The Arcadians answer'd, they were employ'd in celebrating the Olympian Exercises, and in viewing the Horse-Races and Gymnick Combats. The Persian ask'd farther, what Reward the Victorious were to have ; they replied, a Crown of Olive. Upon which, *Tigranes* the Son of *Artabanus* delivered his Opinion with a noble Generosity ; which yet the King thought to be the Effect of Fear. For when he heard that the Recompence of the Conquerors was a Crown, and not Riches, he could not forbear breaking out into this Expression, “*O Mardonius*, said he, against “ what kind of Men have you persuaded us to “ make War ? Men who fight not for Gold or “ Silver, but for Virtue only.”

IN the mean time the Thessalians, incessantly mindful of their former Enmity to the Phoceans, and now more exasperated since the Slaughter at *Thermopyle*, sent a Herald to them. For not many Years before the Expedition of *Xerxes*, the Thessalians, in conjunction with their Allies, having invaded the Territories of the Phoceans with all their Forces, had been repulsed with great Loss, in this manner : The Phoceans being compelled to retire to Mount *Parnassus*, made use of this Stratagem by the Advice of the Prophet *Tellias* of *Elis*, who was then in their Camp ; they cover'd the Armour and Faces of six hundred of their best Men with white Plaster, and sent them out by night against the Thessalians, with Orders to kill every Man they should not find painted like themselves. They were first seen by the Thessalian Guards, and soon after by their whole Army ; who taking them

for some prodigious Apparition, were struck with such a Terror, that the Phoceans killed three thousand upon the place; and being Masters of the Dead, sent one half of their Shields to *Abe*, and the rest to *Delphi*. The tenth Part of the Booty they took in this Fight, was employ'd to purchase those great Statues which stand about the *Tripos* in the Temple of *Delphi*, and others of equal Dimensions erected in *Abe*. Thus the Phoceans dealt with the Foot of the Thessalians, by which they had been in a manner besieged; and by another Stratagem ruin'd their Horse, when they made an Irruption into their Territories. For having open'd a vast Trench in the way, near the City of *Hyampolis*, and filled the Vacuity with empty Pots, which they cover'd with Earth, and brought to a level with the rest of the Ground, they waited the coming of the Thessalians: Who advancing hastily to attack the Phoceans, fell in among the Earthen Vessels, and spoiled the Legs of their Horses. Both these Actions so irritated the Thessalians, that they sent this Message by their Herald to the Phoceans: "Be convinc'd now more than ever, " O Phoceans, that you are inferior to us. For " during all the time we chose to take part with " the Grecians, we were justly esteemed your " Superiors; and now we have so great Power " with the Barbarian, that we can without " difficulty dispossess you of your Country, and " enslave your Persons. Nevertheless, tho you " are entirely at our mercy, we forget the In- " juries you have done us, and ask no more than " fifty Talents of Silver by way of Reparation; " engaging, upon your compliance, to prevent " tho

“ the Dangers impending over you. The Thessalians sent to make this Demand, principally because the Phoceans were the only People of those Parts, who had not fallen in with the Interest of the Medes: From which, as I conjecture, they were restrain’d by no other reason, than their Enmity to the Thessalians; and I am of opinion that the Phoceans would have join’d with the Medes, if the Thessalians had taken part with the Grecians. However, in answer to this Message, the Phoceans peremptorily refused to give the Money, and said, if they were disposed to revolt to the Medes, the way was open to them as well as to the Thessalians; but that they would not be Traytors to *Greece* without necessity. When their Answer was reported to the Thessalians, they were so incens’d against the Phoceans, that serving for Guides to the Barbarians, and marching in the Van of their Army from *Trachis*, they enter’d the narrow Plain of *Doris*; which being about thirty Stades in breadth, and situate between *Melis* and the Territories of the Phoceans, (antiently known by the Name of *Dryopis*) is the Mother Country of all the Dorians in *Peloponnesus*. The Barbarians made no Depredations in their Passage thro the Territories of *Doris*, because the Inhabitants were Partizans of the Medes; which yet was not known to the Thessalians. From thence advancing into *Phocis*, and not meeting with the Phoceans, they were conducted over all Parts of the Country by the Thessalians, and carrying Fire and Sword wherever they came, destroy’d both their Cities and their Temples. For some of the Phoceans were retired to the top

of Mount *Parnassus*, on that side which descends to the City of *Neon*, and goes by the Name of *Tithorea*; where the Ground is spacious enough to contain considerable Numbers of Men: but the greater part had betaken themselves to *Amphissa*, a City belonging to the Locrians of *Ozole*, and built in the Plain of *Crissæus*. In their March the Barbarians ravaged all the Country along the River *Cephissus*, and burnt the Cities of *Drymus*, *Charadra*, *Eochus*, *Amphicæa*, *Neon*, *Pediea*, *Tritea*, *Elatea*, and *Hyampolis*; with all the Places in the Neighbourhood of the River, and particularly the City of *Abe*, in which was a Temple of *Apolio*, enrich'd with many Treasures and consecrated Donations, where Oracles were deliver'd in those Days, as they are at present. This Temple they plunder'd and burnt; and pursuing the Phœceans into the Mountains, took several Prisoners: such Numbers of Men forcing the Women who fell into their hands, that divers died in the place. After the Barbarians had thus pass'd the Countries bordering on the River, they arriv'd in the Territories of the Panopeans, and divided their Army into two Bodies. The most numerous and best part of their Forces march'd towards *Athens* with *Xerxes*, and enter'd *Bœotia* by the way of *Orchomenus*. But because all the Bœotians were in the Interest of the Medes, their Cities were preserved by Macedonian Forces, which *Alexander* had sent, to satisfy *Xerxes* that they were entirely at his devotion.

WHILST these Barbarians march'd this way, the rest, with their Leaders, stretching their Right to the foot of Mount *Parnassus*, advanced towards the Temple of *Delphi*; and destroying all they

they found in their way belonging to *Phocis*, set fire to the Cities of *Panopea*, *Daulis*, and *Æolium*. These Forces were detach'd from the other Part of the Army, and sent this way, in order to plunder the Temple of *Delphi*, and to put the Booty into the hands of *Xerxes*; who, as I have heard, was better inform'd of all the valuable things there, than of those he left behind him at home: so many Persons continually entertain'd him with Discourses concerning these Treasures, and more especially of the Donations made by *Cræsus* the Son of *Alyattes*. When the Delphians heard of their Design, they fell into a great Confusion, and with dreadful Apprehensions consulted the Oracle, whether they should hide their Treasures under ground, or transport them to another Country: But the God would not suffer the Treasures to be remov'd, saying, he was sufficiently able to defend his own. The Delphians having receiv'd this Answer, began to think of themselves; and after they had sent their Wives and Children by Sea to *Achaia*, the greater part of the Men went either to the top of *Parnassus*, or into the Cave of *Corycium*; whilst others retir'd to *Amphissa*, belonging to the Locrians: In a word, all the Inhabitants of *Delphi* abandon'd the City, except only sixty Men, and the Prophet. When the Barbarians were advanc'd within sight of the Temple, the Prophet, whose Name was *Aceratus*, seeing the Arms, which no Mortal may touch, brought out and laid before the sacred Place, went and told the Prodigy to the Delphians who were left in the City. But when the Barbarians arriv'd at the Temple of *Minerva* the Provident,

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much greater Prodigies than the former were seen. And indeed though the sight of those Instruments of War, which had mov'd out of the Temple of themselves, was very wonderful ; yet the second Prodigies were far more astonishing than all others : For immediately after the Arrival of the Barbarians at *Minerva's* Temple, Thunder fell from Heaven upon their Troops ; the two Heads of *Parnassus* breaking from the Mountain with a horrible Noise, and, rolling down, kill'd many of their Men, and a Voice, accompany'd with Shouts of Joy, was heard issuing from the Temple of the Goddess. All these things, in conjunction, so terrified the Barbarians, that they betook themselves to flight ; which when the Delphians heard, they came down from the Mountain, and made a great Slaughter among them. The rest fled into *Bœotia*, and, as I am inform'd, declar'd, that, besides other miraculous things, they saw two Persons of more than human Stature, compleatly armed, pursuing and killing them in their Flight. The Delphians say these two were *Phylacus* and *Autonous*, Heroes of the Country, whose Altars are not far from the Temple ; that of *Phylacus* standing by the Highway beyond the Temple of *Minerva*, and the other near the Castalian Spring, under the Brow of *Hyampea*. The Stones that broke from *Parnassus*, are seen to this day lying in the Grove of *Minerva*, on the Place where they fell among the Barbarians : And such was the Success of this Enterprize against the Temple.

THE Grecian Fleet, in their Return from *Artemisium*, put in at *Salamis*, at the Sollicitation of the Athenians ; who made this Request,

in order to carry off their Wives and Children out of *Attica*, and to consult of measures to be taken in that Conjunction, the present Condition of Affairs requiring new Counsels, because they had been disappointed in their Expectation: For whereas they thought to find the Peloponnesians, with all their Forces, waiting in *Bœotia* to receive the Barbarians, they found nothing less than what they expected: but, on the contrary, were inform'd that they were employ'd in fortifying the Isthmus with a Wall, taking great care to preserve themselves, and to secure the *Peloponnesus*, without any regard to others; and for these Reasons the Athenians desir'd the Allies to stay at *Salamis*. But while the rest continu'd in that Station, the Athenians return'd home: and at their Arrival caus'd Proclamation to be made, that every one should endeavour to save his Wife and Children by the best means he could contrive. Accordingly they sent the greater part to *Træzene*, some to *Ægina*, and others to *Salamis*, using all possible Diligence in transporting their Families, not only in obedience to the Oracle, but out of a desire of Victory, and for another reason of no less Efficacy: For the Athenians say, that the *Acropolis* was guarded by a great Serpent kept in the Temple; and, as if the thing had been true, they every month brought thither a certain quantity of Paste mix'd with Honey; which, in former time having always been consum'd, now remain'd intire and untouch'd: So that when the Priestess had given publick notice of this Event, the Athenians were willing to leave the City, because they concluded the God had abandon'd

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the Fortress ; and therefore after they had embark'd whatever they thought convenient, they made the best of their way to join the Fleet.

WHEN the rest of the Naval Forces of the Grecians understood, that those who had lain at *Artemisium* were arriv'd at *Salamis*, they hasten'd thither from *Træzene*, where their Rendezvous had been appointed in the Harbour of *Pogon*. This Fleet, much more numerous than that which fought at *Artemisium*, as being furnish'd by a greater number of Cities, was still commanded by *Eurybiades* the Lacedemonian, though he was not of the Royal Family. The Athenians brought in more Ships and better Sailors than any other People, and the whole Fleet consisted of these particular Proportions : The Lacedemonians furnish'd eleven Ships, the Corinthians the same number they had at *Artemisium*, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Træzenians five, and the Hermioneans three. All these, except the last, were of Dorian or Macedonian Original, antiently transplanted from *Erineus*, *Pindus*, and *Dryopis*. The Hermioneans indeed are of Dryopian Extraction ; but they were ejected by *Hercules* and the Melians out of that Country which is now called *Doris*. These were the Forces of the Peloponnesians. From the Continent beyond the Isthmus, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty Ships ; for the Platæans were not with them at the Battel of *Salamis*, by this Accident. When the Grecians had abandon'd *Artemisium*, and were arriv'd on the Coast of *Chalcis*, the Platæans landed in a Place adjoining to the farther part of *Boætia*, in order to

carry

carry off their Wives and Children ; and whilst they took care to preserve their Families, were themselves left behind. When the Pelasgians possess'd those Countries, which now go by the name of *Greece*, the Athenians were called Cranian Pelasgians. Under the Reign of *Cecrops*, they had the name of Cecropians ; which in the time of their King *Erechtheus*, they changed for that of Athenians : and lastly were nam'd Ionians from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, who was their General. The Megareans appear'd with the same number of Ships they had at *Artemisium* ; the Ambracians furnish'd seven, and the Leucadians, who are Dorians, of Corinthian Extraction, three. From the Islands the Æginetes brought in thirty Ships, and having left divers others at home for the Guard of their Country, fought at *Salamis* in these thirty, which were the best Sailors they had. The Æginetes are Dorians, descended from *Epidaurus*, and their Island was formerly known by the name of *Oenone*. Next to these the Chalcidians appear'd with twenty Sail, being the same they had at *Artemisium* ; and the Eretrians with seven : both these Nations are Ionians. The Chiens, who are likewise Ionians, and descended from the Athenians, came with the same number they had before. The Naxians brought in four Ships, though they had been sent by their Principals to join the Medes with the rest of the Islanders ; but slighting their Orders, they chose to side with the Grecians, chiefly by the Persuasion of *Democritus*, an eminent Citizen of *Naxus*, and their Commander in chief. The Naxians also are Ionians, and derive their Blood from the Athenians.

nians. The Styrcans came in with the same Ships they had at *Artemisium*, and the Cynthians with one Ship of War, and a Galley of fifty Oars : Both these People are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians, and the Melians took part with the Grecians likewise, having already distinguish'd themselves from all the rest of the Islanders, by refusing Earth and Water to the Barbarian. All these Nations are situate between the River *Acheron* and the Thesprotians, who inhabiting beyond *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*, came to this Expedition from a greater distance than the rest. But of all the People that inhabit the Countries above the Thesprotians, the Crotonians, originally of *Achaia*, came singly to succour *Greece* in this time of Danger, and brought in one Ship of War, commanded by *Phayllus*, who had thrice been victorious in the Pythian Exercises. The Melians, the Siphnians, and the Seriphians arriv'd in Gallies of fifty Oars, but the rest of the Fleet consisted of Ships built with three Ranks. The Melians, who are descended from the Lacedemonians, furnish'd two ; and the Siphnians, with the Seriphians, both Ionians, of Athenian Original, two more. So that the whole number of these Ships, without accounting the Gallies, amounted to three hundred and seventy eight.

WHEN they were all assembled at *Salamis* from the several Cities I have mention'd, they held a Council of War ; in which *Eurybiades* propos'd to the rest of the Captains, that every Man would freely deliver his Opinion, where he thought they might fight with most advantage, in those Parts which were yet in their pos-
session.

session. For having already laid aside all thoughts of *Attica* as of a lost Country, and now only consulting in what other Place they should engage, the greater number agreed in opinion, that they would sail to the Isthmus, and fight upon the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*: alledging for their Reasons, that if they should lose a Battel at *Salamis*, they should be besieg'd in the Island, without the least hope of Succour; whereas if the like Misfortune should happen at the Isthmus, they might retire to their own Cities. When the Peloponnesians were come to this Conclusion, a certain Athenian arriv'd with Advice, that the Barbarian had enter'd *Attica*, and set fire to all the Places he found in his way: For *Xerxes*, with his Army, having passed thro' *Bœotia*, where he burnt the City of the Thespians, who were retir'd to *Peloponnesus*, and the City of the Platæans, marched to *Athens*, and destroyed every thing. He set fire to *Thespia* and *Platæa*, upon the information he had from the Thebans, that those Cities were not in the Interest of the Medes. The Barbarians had spent a month in passing the *Hellespont*, and bringing their Forces into *Europe*: In three months more they arriv'd in *Attica*, when *Calliades* was Archon of the Athenians, and took the City, abandon'd by all the Inhabitants, except a few Men they found in the Temple, with the Officers of that Place, and some indigent Persons; who having fortified the *Acropolis* with Gates, and Palisadoes of Wood, defended themselves against the Enemy. These Men did not go to *Salamis*; partly by reason of their Poverty, and partly because they thought they had found the Sense of the Oracle deliver'd by the Pythian,

Pythian, “ That the Wall of Wood should be “ impregnable : ” imagining that this was the Defence predicted by the Priestess, and not the Navy. The Persians, on their part, posted themselves over against the Fort upon a Hill, which the Athenians call *Areopagus*, and began their Attack in this manner. Having wrapped their Arrows in Tow, and set fire to them, they shot into the Works of the Besieged ; who, though they were in the utmost extremity, and saw their Palisadoes all in flames, yet resolving to defend themselves to the last, refused to accept the Terms that were offer’d by the Pisistratides, if they would surrender : and, among other things they contriv’d for their Defence, threw down Mill-stones upon the Barbarians, as they made their Approaches to the Gates. So that *Xerxes* was in no little perplexity, for a considerable time, to find he could not reduce the Place. At last the Barbarians surmounted these Difficulties, by discovering another way to enter the Fort, according to the Prediction of the Oracle : “ That all the Territories of *Attica*, which are situate on the Continent, should be subdued by the Persians.” Having therefore found out a certain Passage behind the Gates, and the Ascent that leads to the Front of the *Acropolis*, where the Athenians had plac’d no Guard, because they had no suspicion that any Man could pass that way, some of the Barbarians mounted the Precipice, by the Temple of *Aglaura*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*. When the Athenians saw the Enemy within the *Acropolis*, some threw themselves down from the Walls, and were killed, and others retir’d into the Temple. But the Persians

Persians, who had enter'd, went immediately to the Gates; and having forced them open, kill'd all those that had taken Sanctuary there: after which Slaughter, they pillag'd the Temple, and set fire to every part of the *Acropolis*.

XERXES being thus entirely Master of *Athens*, dispatch'd a Messenger to *Susa* on horse-back, to acquaint *Ariabanus* with the prosperous Condition of his Affairs: And the next day after the Departure of this Courier, he call'd together the Athenian Exiles, who were in his Army, and order'd them to go up to the *Acropolis*, and to sacrifice according to the Custom of their own Country. But whether he commanded this by the Impulse of a Dream, or from a Motive of Remorse for burning the Temple, is uncertain. However that be, the Exiles perform'd his Command; and I shall now give the Reason that mov'd me to mention the thing. In the *Acropolis* stands a Temple dedicated to *Erechtheus*, who is reported to have been born of the Earth; and within that Building, an Olive-tree, with a Representation of a Sea, serving for a Monument, as the Athenians say, of the Contention between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, about that Country. The Olive-tree was burnt with the Temple by the Fire of the Barbarians; and yet the next day after, when the Athenians went thither to sacrifice, by the King's Command, they saw a Shoot risen from the Trunk, of a full Cubit in height: at least the Exiles said so.

WHEN the Grecians at *Salamis* were inform'd of what had happen'd to the Fortress of *Athens*, they fell into so great a Consternation, that some of the Commanders went out of the

Council without staying to hear the Result of the Deliberation, and hastening to their Ships, hoisted sail in order to depart ; whilst those who continued to sit, came to a Resolution, to return and fight at the Isthmus. The Assembly broke up at night, and every one departed to his own Ship. But when *Themistocles* was come on board, *Mnesiphilus*, an Athenian, asked him what they had determin'd to do ; and being told they had resolv'd to return to the Isthmus, and fight to defend *Peloponnesus*,
" Then, said he, if these Men carry off their
" Ships from *Salamis*, you will fight for no
" Country at all ; because they will certainly
" return home to their several Cities : and nei-
" ther *Eurybiades*, nor any other Man living,
" will be able to prevent the Dispersion of
" the Fleet ; and *Greece* must perish by bad
" Counsel. Therefore, without delay, endea-
" vour to contrive some Means to break these
" Measures ; and try by all possible Ways, to
" persuade *Eurybiades* to alter his Opinion, and
" to continue in this Station." *Themistocles* heard his Advice with great Joy, and, without returning any Answer, went immediately on board the Ship of *Eurybiades* ; and after he had acquainted him that he had something to communicate to him, which concern'd the common Safety, the Lacedemonian desir'd him to speak with freedom. Then *Themistocles* sat down, and appropriating to himself the Counsel of *Mnesiphilus*, spoke to him in the same Terms, and prevail'd with him to go ashore, and to summon the Commanders together. When they were all assembled, before *Eurybiades* had acquainted them with the Cause of their meeting,

ing, *Themistocles*, as he had too great reason, enter'd into an ample Deduction of the State of their Affairs: But whilst he was speaking, *Admantus*, the Son of *Ocytus*, Commander of the Corinthians, interrupting him, said, “ *Themistocles*, those who stand up before others, are corrected with a Switch.” True, reply'd *Themistocles*: But those who falter in the Race, never win the Crown.” Having thus calmly answer'd the Corinthian, he turn'd to *Eurybiades*; and, omitting that part of his former Discourse, which foretold their Separation, in case they should leave *Salamis*, because he thought himself oblig'd by Decency, not to accuse any of the Confederates in the presence of the rest, took a different Method, and said, “ The Safety of *Greece*, O *Eurybiades*, is now entirely in your power, if, approving my Opinion, you will stay and fight in this Place, and not hearken to those who would persuade you to retire with the Fleet to the Isthmus. You will see this plainly, when I shall have shewn you the Consequences of each Proposition. If you fight before the Isthmus, you must fight in an open Sea; which will be a Disadvantage to us, because our Ships are not only more slow, but fewer in number than those of the Enemy; and besides, you will inevitably sacrifice *Salamis*, *Megara*, and *Ægina*, though we should happen to meet with better Fortune in other Places: And as the Land-Army of the Barbarians will certainly follow their Fleet, you will by this means, draw all their Forces into *Peloponnesus*, and bring all *Greece* into the utmost danger. But on the other hand,

“ if you will do as I advise, you will reap the
“ following Advantages: In the first place,
“ being oblig'd with few Ships to fight against
“ a great number, we shall gain much in
“ point of Strength, if we come to an Engage-
“ ment in a narrow Channel, unless things vary
“ from their usual Course; for our Interest
“ obliges us to fight in such a Place, as much
“ as the Enemy should endeavour to engage
“ in the wide Sea. Besides, we shall preserve
“ *Salamis*; where we have left our Wives and
“ Children. But that which ought principally
“ to prevail with you, is, that if you stay and
“ fight here, you will defend *Peloponnesus* no
“ less effectually, than by fighting at the Isth-
“ mus; and, if you consult your Prudence, you
“ will never lead the Enemy thither. In a
“ word, if we beat the Barbarians at Sea, as
“ I hope we shall, they will neither proceed
“ to the Isthmus, nor penetrate farther than
“ *Attica*, but must return home with Disgrace:
“ and we shall have this additional Advantage,
“ that we shall preserve *Megara*, *Ægina*, and
“ *Salamis*; where we may reasonably expect to
“ be supericur to the Enemy. Men generally
“ meet with Success, when their Enterprizes
“ are founded upon prudent Counsels; but
“ God himself will not indulge their ill-con-
“ ceiv'd Opinions, if they determine to take
“ such measures as carry no Probability of a
“ prosperous Event.” When *Themistocles* had
said these Words, *Adimantus* the Corinthian,
breaking cut a second time into Invectives a-
gainst him, said, He ought now to be silent,
because he had no Country to speak for; and
not bearing with patience, that *Eurybiades*
should

should permit him to deliver his Opinion, told him, he might then have a Voice in the Council, when he should be able to say he had a Home : Upbraiding him in this manner, because *Athens* was taken, and in the hands of the Persian. *Themistocles*, thus provoked, said many things to the disadvantage of the Corinthians, and of *Adimantus* in particular ; telling them, that he had yet a Country of greater power than *Corinth*, since the Athenians had still two hundred Ships of War, arm'd and mann'd by themselves, which no Nation of *Greece* was able to resist. And after, he had vindicated himself, addressing his Discourse again to *Eurybiades*, he said, with some Emotion ; “ If you stay, you will do the part of an honest Man ; if you go, you will ruin *Greece* : for the Fate of the War rests wholly in our Fleet. Be persuaded then by my Reasons ; or, if you are resolv'd not to do as I desire, we will immediately take our Families on board, and depart to *Siris*, a City of *Italy*, belonging to us from antient time, which we are told by an Oracle, is to be built and peopled by the Athenians : Perhaps you will remember my Words, when you shall find yourself abandon'd by so considerable a Part of your Allies.” When *Themistocles* had thus spoken, *Eurybiades*, alter'd his Opinion ; or rather, as I conjecture, the Apprehensions he had, that the Athenians would leave him, if he should sail with the Fleet to the Isthmus, prevail'd upon him to change his Resolution : For, without the Assistance of the Athenians, the rest were no way able to resist the Enemy. So, adhering to the Opinion of *Themistocles*, he determin'd to stay and come

to a Battel at *Salamis*. Which Resolution was no sooner taken, than those, who before had disputed with such Warmth, prepar'd themselves unanimously for an Engagement. But after day-break, upon the rising of the Sun, a Shog was felt both by Land and Sea: Upon which, they resolv'd to invoke the Gods, and to implore the Help of the *Æacides*. Accordingly, having addressed their Prayers to all the Gods, and invoked *Ajax* and *Telamon*, in the Place where they were, they sent a Ship to *Ægina*, with like Instructions, in reference to *Æacus*, and the *Æacides*. *Dicæus*, the Son of *Theocycles*, an Athenian Exile, in great reputation with the Medes, reported, That after the Territories of *Attica* had been ravag'd by the Land-Forces of *Xerxes*, and abandon'd by the Athenians, he happen'd to be at that time with *Demaratus*, in the Plain of *Thriasmum*; where he saw so great a Dust rising from *Eleusis*, as might probably be rais'd by thirty thousand Men; That wondring at the Sight, and who should be the Cause, they heard a Voice, which to him seem'd like that of *Mystical Iacchus*: That *Demaratus* being unacquainted with the Eleusinian Mysteries, ask'd him the meaning of the Noise, and that he made the following Answer;
“ *Demaratus*, said he, some signal Disaster will
“ certainly befall the King's Army; for since
“ *Attica* is utterly abandon'd, this can be no o-
“ ther than the Voice of the God, coming from
“ *Eleusis*, to succour the Athenians and their
“ Allies. If he goes to *Peloponnesus*, the King
“ and his Land-Forces will be in danger on the
“ Continent; and if he takes his way to *Sala-
“ mis*, the King will run the hazard of losing
“ his

“ his Fleet. The Athenians annually celebrate this Festival to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*; admitting all other Grecians, who desire it, to be initiated in these Mysteries: and the Cries you hear, are such as they make at the Celebration of this Solemnity.” To these Words, *Demaratus* replied; “ Be silent, and say nothing to any Man of this Matter; for if the King should be inform’d of your Discourse, he would take off your Head; and neither I, nor any other, could possibly save you: Therefore keep the thing secret; and as for the Army, let the Care of that rest with the Gods.” After *Demaratus* had given him this Counsel, and both together had seen the Dust and heard the Voice, they perceiv’d a Cloud ascending in the same Place, rolling thro the Air to *Salamis*, and there hovering over the Grecian Fleet: By which they understood, that the Navy of *Xerxes* should be destroy’d. These things were affirm’d by *Dicaeus*, the Son of *Theocydes*, appealing to the Testimony of *Demaratus*, and other Witnesses.

WHEN the naval Forces of *Xerxes* had view’d the dead Bodies of the Lacedemonians, they passed over from *Trachis* to *Histiæa*, and after three days stay, sail’d through the *Euripus*, and in three days more, arriv’d at *Phaleron*. Their Numbers, in my opinion, were not less, both by Land and by Sea, when they came to *Athens*, than when they arriv’d at *Sepias* and at *Thermopyle*. For I balance the Loss of those that perished in the Storm, and at *Thermopyle*, as well as of those that were kill’d in the Sea-fight at *Artemisium*, with the additional Forces they receiv’d from the Melians, the Dorians,

the Locrians, and generally from all the Boeotians, except the Thespians and the Platæans ; none of these People having before join'd the King's Army. To this Number I must also add the Carystians, the Andrians, and the Tenians, with all the rest of the Islanders, except the five Cities I mentioned before : For the farther the Persian penetrated into *Greece*, the more was his Army increased, by the Nations that follow'd his Fortune. When they were all arriv'd at *Phaleron*, and at *Athens*, except only the Parians, who staid at *Cythnus*, in expectation of the Event, *Xerxes* himself went on board the Fleet to confer with the Commanders, and to know their Opinions : Where, after he had taken his seat, and the Kings of the several Nations, with the other Generals of his Marine Forces, were assembled, by his Direction, they sat down likewise in the Order appointed by him ; the King of *Sidon* first ; next to him, the King of *Tyre* ; then the rest in their respective Ranks : and when they were all placed, *Xerxes* sent *Mardonius* to put the question to every one in particular, whether they should venture an Engagement by Sea, or not. Accordingly, *Mardonius* beginning at the King of *Sidon*, collected the Opinions of the whole Assembly ; which were unanimous for fighting, except only that of *Artemisia*, who said ; “ *Mardonius*, tell the King I give my opinion in these Words : “ Sir, since I have not behav'd myself worse, “ nor done less than others, in the Actions up- “ on the Coast of *Eubæa*, I may with reason “ speak my Thoughts freely, and let you know “ what I think most advantageous to your Affairs. “ I advise you then to save your Ships, and not “ to

“ to come to an Engagement against those,
“ who, by Sea, are as much superior to your
“ Forces as Men are to Women. Besides, what
“ need have you to hazard another Battel at
“ Sea? Is not *Athens* in your possession, for
“ which you undertook the War? And you
“ are Master of the rest of *Greece*; for no
“ Man now opposes you, since those who
“ ventur'd to resist, met with the Fate they
“ deserv'd. But, to tell you what I think
“ will be the Fortune of the Enemy: If you
“ abstain from hazarding a Sea-fight, and or-
“ der the Fleet to continue here, you will
“ easily compass the Design you came a-
“ bout; whether you stay ashore in this
“ place, or advance to *Peloponnesus* in person.
“ For the Grecians cannot be long in a
“ condition to resist, but must separate, and
“ fly to their own Cities; because, as I am
“ inform'd, they have no Provisions in this
“ Island. Neither can we with any reason
“ believe, that, when you have march'd your
“ Land-Forces into *Peloponnesus*, those who came
“ hither from thence, will continue here, and
“ fight a Battel by Sea, in order to defend the
“ Territories of the Athenians. But if you
“ determine to engage the Enemy at this time,
“ I fear the Defeat of your Naval Forces will
“ cause the Destruction of your Land-Army.
“ Consider, SIR, that good Men have some-
“ times bad Servants, and bad Men good. You
“ are the best of Men, but you have bad Ser-
“ vants, who yet go under the name of your
“ Confederates; and such are the *Ægyptians*,
“ the *Cyprians*, the *Cilicians*, and the *Pamphy-
lians*, all utterly insignificant.” When *Artemisia*
had

had said these words to *Mardonius*, her Friends were not a little disturb'd, fearing she might fall under the King's Displeasure, for dissuading him from a Battel at Sea. But those who envied her, because she was no less honour'd than the most considerable among the Confederates, were glad she had delivered'd such an Opinion, as they thought must certainly ruin her. Yet when the Report was made to *Xerxes*, he shew'd himself extremely pleas'd with the Opinion of *Artemisia*; and having always esteem'd her zealous for his Interests, he now honour'd her with greater Praises than before. Nevertheless he determin'd to comply with the majority; and thinking his Forces had not done their best at *Eubaea*, because he was not present, he resolv'd to be Spectator of the Engagement. To that end Orders were given out for sailing, and the whole Fleet stood towards *Salamis*, drawing up into national Squadrions at leisure. But because Night was coming on, and the remaining Light not sufficient for a Battel, they prepar'd themselves to fight the next Day. In the mean time the Grecians were under much Fear and Apprehensions, of which the Peloponnesians had the greatest share; reflecting with astonishment, that they were then at *Salamis*, ready to fight for a Place belonging to the Athenians; and that if they were beaten, they should be besieg'd, and prevented from retiring to their own Country, which they had left without defence.

IN that same Night the Land-Army of the Barbarians march'd towards *Peloponnesus*, where the Grecians had done all they could to prevent an Irruption by the way of the Continent. For so

soon

soon as they had heard of the Slaughter of the Peloponnesians with *Leonidas*, they drew together from their Cities to the Isthmus, and put themselves under the Conduct of *Cleombrotus*, the Son of *Anaxandrides*, and Brother to *Leonidas*. Being encamped there, they first fortified the Passage of *Sciron*; and afterwards having resolv'd to erect a Wall upon the Isthmus, they brought that Work to perfection, every Man, of so many thousands that were in the Army, performing his part, without exception. For they were all employ'd in carrying Stones, Bricks, Timber, or Hodds of Sand, working without intermission both by night and by day. The Grecians who came to succour the common Cause at the Isthmus, were, the Lacedemonians, the Arcadians, the Eleans, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, the Trazenians, and the Hermioneans; all highly concern'd for the Danger of *Greece*. But the rest of the Peloponnesians took no care of any thing, tho the Olympian and Carnian Solemnities were past.

PELOPONNESUS is inhabited by seven Nations, two of which are the Arcadians and the Cynurians, who being originally of that Country, have always dwelt in the same Places they now possess. After these the Achaians, who, tho they never abandoned *Peloponnesus*, yet left their antient Seat, and settled themselves in another. The remaining four are Strangers, and consist of Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians. The Cities of the Dorians are many, and of great Fame: The Ætolians have only *Elis*: The Dryopians, *Hermione* and *Afina*, situate near *Cardamyla*, a City of *Laconia*; and the Lemnians are

are Masters of all the Places that lie at the foot of the Mountains. Among these, the Cynurians alone appear to have been Ionians; but were accounted Dorians after they fell under the Power of the Argians, as were also the Orneates and their Neighbours. Now, except those Nations I mention'd before, the rest of the seven sat still; or rather, if I may speak with freedom, absented themselves, because they favour'd the Medes. Nevertheless the Grecians at the Isthmus concurr'd with all possible Diligence to finish the Work they had undertaken, expecting no Success from their Navy. On the other hand, those at *Salamis* were much disturb'd when they heard these things, as being more concern'd for *Peloponnesus* than for themselves. They first began to whisper to one another, and to wonder at the Imprudence of *Eurybiades*; till at last breaking out into open Murmuring, a Council of War was called, and a long Debate arose. Some said they ought to sail for *Peloponnesus*, and hazard a Battel for that Country, rather than to stay and fight for a Place already in the power of the Enemy. But the Athenians, the *Æginetes*, and the Megareans, voted to stay and fight at *Salamis*. Then *Themistocles* seeing his Opinion set aside by the Peloponnesians, went privately out of the Council, and sent away a Man to the Enemy's Fleet, in a small Vessel, with such Orders as he thought necessary. The Name of the Man was *Sicinus*, he lived in his Family, had the care of instructing his Sons; and in succeeding time, when the Thespians augmented the Number of their Citizens, *Themistocles* procur'd him to be made a Citizen of *Thespin*, and gave

gave him considerable Riches. This Person arriving in the Fleet, delivered his Message to the Barbarian Generals in these Words : “ The Captain of the Athenians, who is in the Interest of the King, and desires your Affairs may prosper, rather than those of *Greece*, has sent me privately away, with Orders to let you know, that the Grecians in great consternation have determin’d to betake themselves to flight ; and that you have now an Opportunity of attaining the most glorious of all Enterprizes, unless your Negligence opens a Way to their Escape. For being divided in their Opinions, they will not oppose your Forces ; but you will see those who are your Friends, fighting against those who are not of your Party.” *Sicinus* having thus deliver’d his Message, departed immediately ; and the Enemy believing what he said, landed a considerable Number of Persians in *Psytalea*, an Island lying between *Salamis* and the Continent : and about midnight stretching the westwardly Point of their Fleet towards *Salamis*, whilst those who were about *Ceos* and *Cynosura* extended the other to *Munychia*, they shut up the whole Coast with their Ships. In this manner they dispos’d their Fleet, that the Grecians finding no way to escape, might be all taken at *Salamis*, to compensate the Loss of the Barbarians in the Action of *Artemisium* ; and landed the Persians in *Psytalea*, to the end that, as they expected the most part of the disabled Ships and distressed Men would be driven thither, because that Island is situate near the place where the Battel was like to be fought, they might be ready to save whatever

ever they thought fit, and to destroy the rest. But these things they endeavour'd to conceal from the Grecians, and pass'd the whole Night without Sleep in making all necessary Preparations. Considering the Event of this War, I have nothing to say against the Truth of **Oracles**, resolving not to attempt to invalidate so manifest a Prediction.

*When circling Ships shall join the sacred Shore
Of Artemis to Cynosura's Coast,
Just Vengeance then shall reach the furious Youth,
True Son of Violence, who vainly proud
Of ravag'd Athens, insolently thought
That all must stoop to his audacious Rage :
For clashing Swords shall meet, and Mars shall stain
The foaming Billows with a purple Gore.
Then Saturn's Son and Victory shall bring
A glorious Day of Liberty to Greece.*

These Words of *Bacis* are so clear, that I dare not dispute the Veracity of **Oracles**, nor shall admit the Objections of others.

I N the mean time the Generals at *Salamis* continued their Debates with great Animosity, not knowing that they were surrounded by the Ships of the Barbarians. But when Day was come, they saw the Enemy so dispos'd, as if they design'd to make towards the Shore. And whilst they were still in Council, *Aristides* the Son of *Lysimachus* arrived from *Ægina*. He was an Athenian, but voted into Exile by the People : And yet, for as much as I have learnt of his Manners, he was the best and justest Man in *Athens*. This Person coming to the place where the Council sat, sent for *Themistocles* out, who was

was not his Friend, but rather the fiercest of his Enemies : yet the Greatness of the impending Danger made him forget their former Enmity, and resolve to confer with him ; because he had heard that the Peloponnesians were determined to retire with the Fleet to the Isthmus. When *Themistocles* came out, *Aristides* said, " We ought at this time, and on all occasions, " to contend who shall do the greatest Service to our Country. I assure you, that to " say little or much to the Peloponnesians, about " their Departure, is the same thing : For I " tell you as an Eye-witness, that neither *Eurybiades* himself, nor the Corinthians, can now " retire, if they would, because we are on all " sides inclosed by the Enemies Fleet. Go in " again therefore, and acquaint the Council " with our Condition." *Themistocles* answer'd, " Your Admonition is exceeding grateful, and " the News you bring most acceptable : For " you tell me you have seen that, which I " desir'd should come to pass above all things. " Know then, that what the Medes have done, " proceeds from me : for necessity requir'd, " that those Grecians, who would not fight " voluntarily, should be compelled to an Engagement against their will. But since you " have brought so good News, let the Council hear it from yourself ; because if I should " be the Reporter, they would think it a Fiction, and I shall not persuade them that the " Barbarians are doing such a thing. Go in " therefore, and inform them of the Fact : If " they believe you, nothing better can happen ; if not, we are still in the same Condition : for they have no way open to " escape

“ escape by Flight, if, as you say, we are already encompassed on all sides.” Accordingly *Aristides* going in, gave the same Account to the Council, acquainting them that he came from *Ægina*, after he had with great difficulty made his Passage, and eluded the Vigilance of the Enemy, who with the whole Navy of *Xerxes* had intirely encompassed the Grecian Ships. He counselled them therefore to prepare themselves with all Diligence for their Defence ; and when he had said this, he retired. But yet the Dissension continued among the Generals, and the greater part gave no credit to the Report, till a Tenian Ship, commanded by *Panætius*, the Son of *Socimenes*, arriving from the Enemy to join the Grecians, discover’d the whole Truth ; and for that Action the name of the Tenians was engrav’d upon the *Tripos* consecrated at *Delphi*, among those who defeated the Barbarian. By the addition of this Ship, and that of *Lemnos*, which came over at *Artemisium*, the Grecian Fleet now amounted to three hundred and eighty Sail ; for before, they wanted two of that number.

THE Grecians believing the Account they receiv’d from the Tenians, prepar’d for an Engagement ; and at day-break called a general Assembly of the Men at Arms : in which *Themistocles* having first declar’d the hopes he had of a prosperous Event, framed all his Discourse to shew the Difference between Actions of the greatest Glory, and those of less importance ; animating them to chuse the most noble, as far as the Nature and Condition of Man permit. When he had finish’d his Speech, he encourag’d them

them to return on board ; which they had no sooner done, than the Ship they had sent to *Ægina*, with Orders touching the *Æacides*, return'd to *Salamis*, and at the same time the Grecians weigh'd all their Anchors. The Barbarians seeing them coming out, advanc'd with diligence ; but the Grecians continu'd luffing, and bearing upon the Stern : when *Aminias*, an Athenian of the Pallenian Tribe, breaking out of the Line, fell in among the Enemy, and fasten'd the Grappling-Iron to one of their Ships ; which the rest perceiving, and that there was no other way to bring him off, they made up to his Assistance ; and thus the Athenians say the Fight began. But the *Æginetes* affirm, that the Ship which went to *Ægina*, with the Instructions about the *Æacides*, was the first engag'd. There is also a Report, that a Phantom appear'd in the shape of a Woman, encouraging the Grecians with so loud a Voice, that she was heard by all the Fleet, after she had first reproach'd them, in these words : “ Infatuated Men ! how long will you rest upon your Oars, and forbear to advance ? ” In the Order of Battel, the Phœnicians were placed on that Wing which fronted the Athenians, and extended Westward towards *Eleufis*. The Ionians were rang'd on the other Point, facing the Lacedemonians, and stretching towards the East and the *Piræus*. Of these some few, persuaded by the Admonition of *Themistocles*, voluntarily omitted to perform their part ; yet the greatest number did their best : And I could give the Names of many Captains who took Ships from the Grecians, though I shall mention no more than *Theomestor*.

the Son of *Androdamas*, and *Phylacus* the Son of *Histiæus*, both Samians. I name these two, because *Theomestor* was afterwards made Tyrant of *Samos* by the Persians, for his Service on this occasion, and *Phylacus* was not only admitted into the number of those, who by deserving well of the King, are called among the Persians *Orosanges*, but rewarded with large Possessions in Land : and such were the Recompences of these two Commanders. Nevertheless this numerous Fleet was defeated at *Salamis*, and receiv'd a terrible Blow, principally from the Athenians and the *Æginetes* : For the Grecians observed so good Order, and such a steady Conduct in the Fight, whilst the Barbarians fought in a disorderly manner, and without judgment, that no other Event could be expected ; yet the Enemy shew'd far more Courage that day, than they had done before on the Coast of *Eubæa*, or at any other time ; every one exerting himself vigorously, in fear of the King's Displeasure, because they all imagin'd that their Actions were observ'd by him. I cannot exactly relate how each particular Person, either of the Grecians or Barbarians, behav'd himself in this Engagement ; but an Adventure happen'd to *Artemisia*, which served to augment her Credit with *Xerxes*. For when the King's Fleet was in the utmost Confusion, *Artemisia* finding she was chas'd by an Athenian Ship, and not knowing whither to fly, because she had those of her own Party in Front, and the Enemy in the Rear, contriv'd to do a thing which turn'd to her great advantage : As she fled from the Athenian, she drove directly upon a Ship of her own side, belonging to the *Calyndians*,

dians, and having their King *Damasithymus* on board : But whether on account of a Contesta-
tion they had together at the *Hellespont*, she pur-
posely run down his Ship ; or whether the Ca-
lyndians were in her way by accident, I cannot
affirm. However, the Ship went down to-rights,
and *Artemisia* had the good fortune to reap a
double Advantage by that Blow : For the Cap-
tain of the Athenian Ship, when he saw the
Barbarian funk, concluding *Artemisia*'s Ship to
be a Grecian, or at least one that had aban-
don'd the Enemy to join with the Grecians,
gave over the Chase, and left her. By which
means *Artemisia* not only escap'd the Danger,
but advanc'd her Reputation with *Xerxes* by a
bad Action : For they say, that when the King,
who was Spectator of the Exploit, had taken
notice of the Ship which gave the shock, one of
those about him said, " SIR, You see with
" what Courage *Artemisia* fights, and has funk
" one of the Enemy's Ships." Then the King
asking, if indeed *Artemisia* had done that Ac-
tion ? they answer'd, that they knew the Flag
perfectly well, still imagining the lost Ship to
be an Enemy. For to the rest of her good For-
tune, which I mention'd before, this also was
added, that none of the Company belonging to
the Calyndian Ship surviv'd to accuse her. So
that when *Xerxes* heard their Answer, he is re-
ported to have said, " My Men have fought
" like Women, and my Women like Men." In
this Battel *Ariabignes*, the Son of *Darius*, and
Brother of *Xerxes*, was killed, with great num-
bers of illustrious Men, as well Persians and
Medes as their Confederates. On the part of
the Grecians the Slaughter was not great ; be-
cause

cause those who lost their Ships, and surviv'd the Fate of War, saved themselves by their Skill in swimming, and got ashore at *Salamis*; whereas most of the Barbarians being ignorant of that Art, perish'd in the Sea. The greatest los's the Enemy sustained, began after their headmost Ships were put to flight; for those who lay a-stern, endeavouring to come up into the Van, that they might shew the King some proof of their Courage, fell foul upon their own flying Ships. In this Confusion some Phœnicians, whose Ships were destroyed, going to the King, told him, the Ionians had betrayed all, and been the Cause of their Disaster: But contrary to their Expectation, the Punishment they design'd to bring upon the Ionian Commanders, fell upon the Accusers themselves: For whilst they were yet speaking, a Samothracian Ship attacking one of *Attica*, sunk the Athenian; and a Ship of *Ægina* coming up in that instant, sunk the Samothracian. But the Samothracians being armed with Javelins, poured in such a shower from the sinking Vessel upon the *Æginetæ*, that venturing to board the conquering Ship, they carry'd her. This Success sav'd the Ionians: For *Xerxes* having seen them perform so great an Action, turn'd about to the Phœnicians; and being above measure troubled, and ready to fling the blame every where, commanded their Heads to be struck off, that they might no more accuse those who had fought better than themselves. He sat upon the Descent of a Hill, called *Ægaleos*, over against *Salamis*; and whenever he saw a remarkable Action done in the Fight by any one of his Officers, he made Inquiry touching the Man, and caus'd

caus'd his Secretaries to write down his Name, his Family, and his Country. But not satisfy'd with the Slaughter of the Phœnicians, he add'd that of *Ariaramnes*, a Persian, and his Favourite, who had been present at their Death. In the end the Barbarians betaking themselves to open flight, made the best of their way towards *Phaleron*; but the Æginetes waiting for them in their Passage through the Streights, gave memorable proof of their Valour: And as the Athenians destroy'd those flying Ships, which ventur'd to resist in the Confusion; the Æginetes did no less execution upon those which escap'd out of the Battel: So that, for the most part, when any Ship happen'd to avoid the Athenians, they fell into the hands of the Æginetes. In this Rout the Ship of *Themistocles* giving chace to one of the Enemy, came up with another commanded by *Polycritus* of *Ægina*, the Son of *Crius*, as he was ready to attack a Sidonian Ship, which prov'd to be the same that took the Guardship of the Æginetes near *Scyathus*, with *Pytheas* the Son of *Ischenous* on board; who being cover'd with Wounds, was exempted from Death by the Persians, in admiration of his Valour, and kept Prisoner in the Ship. In this Action the Sidonian Ship was taken with all the Men on board, and by that means *Pytheas* return'd safe to *Ægina*. But when *Polycritus* saw the Athenian Ship, which he knew to be the Admiral by the Flag she carry'd, he call'd aloud to *Themistocles*, and in a jesting manner bid him take notice how the Æginetes favour'd the Medes. In the mean time the Barbarians, with the Ships they had left, fled in great disorder towards their Land-Forces, and arriv'd

at *Phaleron*. Among the Grecians, that fought this Battel, the *Æginetes* were most commended ; and next to these the Athenians. Among the Captains, *Polycritus* of *Ægina* ; and among the Athenians, *Eumenes* of the Anagyra-sian, with *Aminias* of the Pallenian Tribe, who gave chace to *Artemisia* ; and if he had known she had been in the Ship, would not have given over the Pursuit, till either he had taken her, or she him. For the Athenians had given Orders to that purpose to all their Captains, and promis'd a Reward of ten thousand Drachmas to the Person who should take her alive ; resenting, with great Indignation, that a Woman should make war against *Athens*. But, as I said before, she made her Escape, and with divers other Ships arriv'd ar *Phaleron*. The Athenians say, that *Adimantus*, the Corinthian General, struck with a panick Fear in the beginning of the Fight, put up all his Sails, and be-took himself to flight : That the Corinthians seeing their Leader run, bore away after him ; and when they had reach'd the Temple of *Minerva* at *Sciras* in *Salamis*, a Frigate magnificently adorn'd fell in with their Squadron : That when they found she made no Discovery whence she came, nor had brought any Message to the Corinthians from the Army, they concluded the thing to be divine ; for as soon as the Frigate came up with their Ships, those on board cry'd out, “ *Adimantus*, thou hast by thy flight “ depriv'd the Grecians of the Assistance of “ these Ships, and art a *Traytor to Greece* ; yet “ know, they shall conquer their Enemies as “ compleatly as they desire.” That finding *Adimantus* gave no credit to their words, they added,

added, that they would be contented to remain as Hostages, and be put to death, if the Grecians were not victorious. Upon which *Adimantus*, with the rest of the Corinthians, return'd to the Fleet, but came not in till the Work was done. This Report is current among the Athenians; yet the Corinthians deny the Fact, and affirm they fought no less valiantly than the best; all the rest of *Greece* concurring to confirm their Assertion. Whilst things were in this Confusion on the Coast of *Salamis*, *Aristides*, the Son of *Lysimachus* the Athenian, mention'd by me a little before as a most excellent Person, taking with him a considerable number of Men, all of Athenian Blood, who were drawn up along that Shore in their Arms, pass'd over to *Psytalea*, and put to the sword all the Persians he found in the Island. The Grecians, after the Engagement by Sea was over, brought to *Salamis* all the Wreck that continu'd floating about that Coast, and prepar'd for another Battel, expecting the King would make use of his remaining Ships to that end. But the greater part of the broken Vessels were carried by a South-Wind to the Shore of *Colias* in *Attica*; that not only those Predictions of *Bacis* and *Musæus*, touching the Success of the Sea-fight, might be verified; but that also relating to the shatter'd Remains rolling to that Coast, which many years before had been deliver'd in these Terms to *Lystratus* an Athenian Augur, and concealed from all the Grecians:

The Colian Dames shall shake to see the Oars.

This was to happen in the time of the King's Expedition.

WHEN *Xerxes* was inform'd of the Loss he had sustain'd, he began to apprehend that some of the Ionians, either upon the Suggestion of the Grecians, or from their own Inclination, might go and break the Bridge at the *Hellefpon*, and by that means, cutting off his Retreat out of *Europe*, might bring his Person into danger. Under these Apprehensions he resolv'd upon his Departure; but being willing to conceal his Intentions both from the Grecians, and from his own Forces, he attempted to form a Digue extending down to *Salamis*; and having fasten'd together the Phœnician Tenders, to serve for a Bridge and a Rampart, he prepar'd all things, as if he design'd to fight another Battel at Sea. Every one that saw him thus employ'd, firmly believ'd he had determin'd to stay, and to carry on the War in Person; except only *Mardonius*, who, by the knowledge he had of the King's Genius, was not ignorant of his Intentions. Whilst *Xerxes* was making these Preparations, he dispatch'd a Message to the Persians, with an account of the Misfortune which had befallen him. Nothing is found among Men more expeditious than these Messengers, invented by the Persians, and regulated in this manner. For every Day's Journey they appoint a Man with a Horse, to be always ready to ride out that day, obliging him to perform his Course with the utmost diligence, and not to be prevented either by Snow, Rain, Heat, or the Darkness of Night. The first of these Couriers delivers his Orders to the second, the second to the third, and so forward.

forward to the last ; as the Torch consecrated to *Vulcan* passes from hand to hand among the Grecians. And this Expedition by laid Horses, the Persians call *Angarion*. The first Message which was brought to *Susa* from *Xerxes*, with the News that he had taken *Athens*, caus'd so great Joy among the Persians there, that they strew'd the Streets with Myrtle, burnt Perfumes, sacrific'd, and abandon'd themselves to Pleasure. But the second Messenger arriving, put them all into such a Consternation, that they tore their Clothes, and with incessant Howlings and Lamentations, threw all the blame upon *Mardonius* : Not that the Persians were so much troubled for the Disaster of the Fleet, but they dreaded the Danger of the King's Person ; and continued in their Fears during all the time that passed between this Message, and the Return of *Xerxes*. In the mean time, *Mardonius* seeing *Xerxes* much disturb'd at the unhappy Event of the Sea-fight, and conjecturing he had meditated his Escape from *Attica*, began to think, he should suffer the Penalty of having persuaded the King to make war against the Grecians ; and therefore, that nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to put all to the hazard, either to conquer *Greece*, or die with Glory in so great an Attempt. Reflecting upon these things, and inclining to believe he might subdue *Greece*, he addressed himself to the King in these Words :

“ Sir, be not disturb'd, nor think you have
 “ receiv'd so great a Loss by the late Action ;
 “ for we are not to determine this Dispute with
 “ Timber, but with Men and Horses. None
 “ of those, who imagine they have given us
 “ a

" a finishing Blow, will quit their Ships to
 " appear against you in Arms by Land ; nei-
 " ther have we any thing to fear from those
 " of the Continent, because they have paid
 " so dear already for their Resistance. If then
 " you think fit, we will make an attempt
 " upon *Peloponnesus* ; or, if you had rather take
 " time to consider of that Enterprize, you
 " may do so without hazard : only be not
 " discourag'd ; for the Grecians have no way
 " to exempt themselves from rendering a se-
 " vere Account of their past and present Ac-
 " tions ; and must submit to be your Servants.
 " In this manner I would advise you to act ; but
 " if you have determin'd to return, and to
 " withdraw the Army, I have other Counsel
 " to offer on that Subject. Above all things,
 " Sir, let not the Persians be expos'd to the
 " Derision of the Grecians ; for they have
 " brought no Disaster upon your Affairs, nor
 " can you charge us with want of Courage
 " on any Occasion. If the Phœnicians, Ægyp-
 " tians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, have behav'd
 " themselves ill, their Faults are not to be
 " attributed to the Persians. Since therefore
 " the Persians cannot be justly blam'd, let me
 " persuade you, if you have resolv'd your Re-
 " turn, to take with you the greatest part of
 " the Army, and to leave me three hundred
 " thousand chosen Men ; with which I take up-
 " on me to reduce all *Greece* to your Obedi-
 " ence." *Xerxes* having heard these Words
 with as much Joy and Satisfaction, as his De-
 spondency had been great, told *Mardonius*, he
 would consider his Propositions, and let him
 know which of the two he should approve. To
 that

that end, after he had call'd together a Council of Persians, he determin'd to send for *Artemisia*, in order to consult with her also, because she alone seem'd to have understood the Measures that ought to have been taken before. When *Artemisia* came, *Xerxes* order'd the Council and Guards to withdraw, and spoke to her in these Terms: " *Mardonius* encourages me to stay here, and to attack *Peloponnesus*; telling me that the Persians are not at all guilty of the Defeat I have receiv'd, but wish for an Occasion to give me Demonstration of their Valour. This Enterprize he counsels me to attempt; or else, with three hundred thousand Men chosen out of my Forces, he himself proposes to conquer *Greece* for me, and desires I would return home with the rest of the Army. You therefore, who gave me such prudent Counsel, in dissuading me from hazarding a Battel at Sea, advise me now, which of these two Propositions you think most advantageous to my Affairs." To this Demand, *Artemisia* answer'd; " Sir, I am under no little Difficulty how to give you the good Counsel you desire; yet, considering the present State of things, I am of opinion, you should return home, and leave *Mardonius* here with the Troops he requires, if he will take this Enterprize upon him: For if he conquers these Countries, as he promises, and all things succeed to his mind, the Honour, Sir, will redound to you, because your Servants were the Instruments of the Success: But if, contrary to the Expectation of *Mardonius*, the Event should prove unprosperous, the Misfortune cannot be great, so long as you

“ you survive, and your own Affairs are safe
“ at home: For whilst you and your House
“ are in being, the Grecians will be often dri-
“ ven to run the utmost hazards to preserve
“ themselves; so that whatever Disaster may
“ fall upon *Mardonius*, is of no importance:
“ Neither could the Grecians call themselves
“ Conquerors, though they should happen to
“ destroy your Slave. In a word, having burnt
“ *Athens*, which was the thing you propos'd
“ to do in this War, you may with reason re-
“ turn home.” This Counsel being so agreea-
able to the Inclination of *Xerxes*, pleas'd him
exceedingly; for his Fears were so great, that
if all the Men and Women of the World had
advis'd him to stay, I believe he would never
have consented. He applauded the Wisdom
of *Artemisia*; and when she had taken leave, she
departed from *Ephesus* with some of his natu-
ral Sons, who had accompanied him in his Ex-
pedition. With these Children he sent *Hermoti-
mus* their Governour, by Descent a Pedasean,
and among the Eunuchs, inferiour to none in
the King's Favour. The Pedaseans inhabit a-
bove *Halicarnassus*; and 'tis said, that when any
Calamity is, within a certain time, to fall upon
themselves, and all those who live about their
City, a great Beard shoots from the Chin of
Minerva's Priestess; which Prodigy has been
seen twice in that Place. *Hermotimus* was born
among these Pedaseans; and of all the Men we
know, reveng'd himself in the severest manner
for an Injury he had receiv'd. He was taken
by an Enemy, and sold to one *Panionius*, a Chi-
an, who liv'd by a most infamous Practice; for
whenever he purchas'd Boys of excellent Beau-
ty,

ty, he castrated them, and sold them at *Sardis*, and *Ephesus* for immense Sums ; because the Barbarians set a greater Value upon Eunuchs than upon others, on account of their Fidelity in all respects. Among the many *Panionius* had castrated, *Hermotimus* was one ; yet, not being unfortunate in every thing, he was sent from *Sardis*, with other Presents to the King ; and in time became the greatest Favourite of all his Eunuchs. Whilst *Xerxes* was at *Sardis*, preparing to lead his Army against *Athens*, *Hermotimus* went on some occasion to *Atarneus*, a Town of *Mygia*, possess'd by the Chians, and found *Panionius* there : He knew him, and entertaining him with much Discourse in a friendly manner, acquainted him first with the many Felicities he had acquir'd by his means, and promised him great things in requital, if he would come to his House, and bring his Sons with him. *Panionius* heard all this with satisfaction, and accordingly came with his Wife and Children. But when *Hermotimus* saw the whole Family in his power, he said, " O thou, who hast to this time sustain'd thy most wicked Life, by transcending all others in a detestable Commerce, what had I, or any of my Ancestors done to thee or thine, that of a Man, thou hast made me nothing ? Thy Opinion surely was, that the Gods would not see that Action : But they, for thy Crimes, have now deliver'd thee into my hands with so much Justice, that thou canst have no colour to complain of the Punishment I shall inflict upon thee." When he had thus upbraided him, he order'd his four Sons to be brought in, and compell'd the Father

ther to castrate them in his presence. *Panionius*, constrain'd by inevitable Necessity, did as he commanded; and after he had done, his Sons were forced to do the same to him. In this manner *Hermostinus* was reveng'd, and *Panionius* punish'd in the way he deserv'd. Xerxes having committed his Sons to *Artemisia*'s Care, in order to be conducted to *Ephesus*, sent for *Mardonius*, and bid him chuse what Forces he would out of the Army, that he might be able to perform the things he had promis'd. Nothing more was done that day; but in the night, the Generals, by the King's Order, sail'd with the Fleet from *Phaleron*, making towards the *Hellespont* with all possible diligence, to preserve the Bridges, over which he was to pass in his Return. The Barbarians, as they sail'd by *Zoster*, imagining the little Promontories they saw on that Coast, to be Ships of War, dispersed and fled for a considerable time; but afterwards, perceiving they were Promontories, and not Ships, they rallied again, and pursued their Voyage. The next Morning, the Grecians seeing the Enemies Land-Forces still encamped in the same Place, suppos'd their Fleet to be at *Phaleron*; and therefore, in expectation of another Engagement, prepar'd to defend themselves; when being inform'd of their Departure, they presently determin'd to sail in quest of them: But coming up to *Andros* without having discover'd any of the Enemies Ships, they called a Council of War; in which *Themistocles* mov'd, that shaping their Pursuit by the way of the Islands, they would make directly to the *Hellespont*, and destroy the Bridges. But *Eurybiades* was of a contrary Opinion, and said, that nothing could

be more destructive to *Greece*, than to break those Bridges; for if the Persian, intercepted by that means, should be constrain'd to continue in *Europe*, he would certainly make some Attempt; because by Inaction, he could neither advance his Affairs, nor open a Way to his Return, but his Army must inevitably perish by Want: That if he should be the Aggressor, and enter upon Action, all the Cities and Nations of *Europe* must probably become an Accession to his Empire, either by Force, or by a preceding Agreement; and for Provisions, the annual Produce of *Greece* would furnish him sufficiently: That being of opinion, *Xerxes* would not willingly continue in *Europe* after the Defeat he had receiv'd at Sea, he was for favouring his Flight, till he should arrive in *Asia*; after which he advis'd them to carry the War thither, and compel him to fight for his own Territories. To this Opinion the other Captains of the Peloponnesians unanimously adher'd; and *Themistocles*, finding he could not persuade the greater number to sail for the *Hellespont*, addressed himself to the Athenians; who, of all the Allies, being most averse from suffering the Enemy to escape, were dispos'd to proceed thither with their own Ships, if the rest should refuse to concur in that Design. "I have often seen, said he, and much more often heard, that Men, constrain'd by unavoidable Necessity, have fought again, and repair'd their former Losses. Since therefore we have found means to repel that Cloud of Men, which threaten'd us and all *Greece*, let us no longer pursue those that fly; for this Success is not owing to our own Force, but to the Gods, and to the

"He-

“ Heroes, who were too jealous to permit one
“ Man to be King both of *Asia* and *Europe* ;
“ a Man of such Impiety and Insolence, that
“ he burnt all Places, sacred and profane, with-
“ out distinction, overthrew the Images of the
“ Gods, and attempted to chastise the Sea with
“ Stripes and Fetters. Since then, our Af-
“ fairs are in so good a Condition, that we have
“ quite driven out the Barbarian, let us conti-
“ nue in *Greece*, and taking care for ourselves
“ and our Families, rebuild our Houses, and
“ sow our Lands with diligence ; deferring our
“ Expedition to the *Hellespont* and to *Ionia*, till
“ the Beginning of the next Spring.” This
turn *Themistocles* gave to his Discourse, in order
to insinuate himself into the Favour of the Per-
sian, that he might have a Place of Refuge, if
any Misfortune should overtake him at *Athens*,
as afterwards fell out : And tho his Words were
counterfeit, yet he persuaded the Athenians ;
who having always thought him a wise Man, and
now seeing such manifest Proofs of his consum-
mate Prudence, and excellent Counsels, were
entirely dispos'd to believe him in every thing.
But after they had assented to his Opinion, he
presently sent off certain Persons in a Sloop, and
among them that *Sicinus* I mention'd before,
with Orders to carry a Message to the King, and
not to discover it to any other Person, whatever
Torture they might endure. When they arriv'd
in *Attica*, the rest continu'd on board, and *Sici-
nus* going alone to the King, said, “ *Themistocles*,
“ the Son of *Neocles*, General of the Athenians,
“ the most wise and valiant of all the Confede-
“ rates, sent me to tell you, that being desirous
“ to do you a good Office, he has prevail'd with
“ the

“ the Grecians to desist from the Resolution
 “ they had taken to pursue your Ships, and to
 “ destroy your Bridges on the *Hellespont*: So
 “ that you may now retire at your leisure.”
 And after he had deliver’d his Message, they all
 return’d to *Themistocles*.

THE Grecians having thus determin’d, neither to continue their Pursuit, nor to sail for the *Hellespont*, to break the Enemies Bridges, besieg’d *Andros*, with intention to destroy that City; because the Andrians were the first of all the Islanders, who refus’d to give Money to *Themistocles*: For when he told them, that the Athenians were come thither, accompanied by two great Deities, Persuasion and Force, and that therefore they must part with their Money; the Andrians answer’d, that the Athenians, having such useful Goddesses, were great and prosperous of course; but that the Andrians being confin’d to a narrow Slip of Land, and having two unprofitable Goddesses, Poverty and Impossibility, always residing in their Island, and fond of living among them, should give no Money so long as they had such Deities: adding, that the Power of *Athens* was not greater than their Inability. Thus they answer’d; and for refusing to give Money, were besieg’d: During which time, *Themistocles*, incessantly coveting more Wealth, sent threatening Messages to the other Islands, by the same Persons he had employ’d before to the Andrians, with Orders to demand Money in the same Terms; and to let the Islanders know, that if they refus’d to send him the Sum he requir’d, he would bring the Grecian Forces against them, and destroy their

Countries. By these Menaces he extorted great Riches from the Carystians, and from the Parians; who being inform'd that the Andrians were besieg'd, for corresponding with the Medes, and that *Themistocles* was in the grearest Reputation of all the Generals, terrify'd with Apprehensions of his Indignation, sent him the Money he demanded. Whether any more of the Islanders gave him Money or not, I cannot affirm; but I am of opinion that some others did, and that these were not the only People that comply'd. Yet for all this, the Carystians could not avoid their ill Fortune, though the Parians escaped the Visit of the Army, by pacifying *Themistocles* with Money. Thus in a clandestine manner, and without the Participation of the other Generals, *Themistocles* demanded Money of the Islanders, beginning with the Andrians.

THE Army of *Xerxes* having continued a few days in their Camp, after the Sea-fight, marched back into *Bœotia* by the same way they came; because *Mardonius* designing to attend the King in his way, and seeing the Season of the Year improper for military Action, inclin'd to winter in *Thessaly*, and to attack *Peloponnesus* early the next Spring. Upon his Arrival in *Thessaly*, he in the first place made choice of the ten thousand Persians, who are call'd *Immortal*; but their General *Hydarnes* refus'd to stay with them, declaring, he would not leave the King. After these, he chose out of the Persians, all the Cuirassiers, and that Body of a thousand Horse, which I mention'd before. Of the Medes, Saces, Bactrians, and Indians, he omitted none, either

either Foot or Horse: But of the other Nations he took few, only chusing such as were of a promising Aspect, or known to him by some remarkable Action. Among the Forces he chose, those of the Persian Nation were most considerable, and wore Bracelets and Chains for ornament. Next to them, the Medes, not less numerous than the Persians, but inferiour in Valour. And thus, including the Horse, he made up the Number of three hundred thousand. But whilst *Mardonius* selected his Army, and *Xerxes* staid in *Thessaly*, an Oracle was brought to *Sparta* from *Delphi*, admonishing the Lacedemonians to demand Satisfaction of the King for the Death of *Leonidas*, and to hear the Answer he would give. Accordingly, they immediately sent away a Herald, who finding all the Army of *Xerxes* in *Thessaly*, went to him, and said; "King of the Medes, the Lacedemonians and Heraclides of *Sparta*, require you to make reparation for killing their King, whilst he endeavour'd to defend the Liberty of *Greece*." At these Words the King laugh'd; and after he had long forborn to answer, pointing at last to *Mardonius*, "There said he, is the Man, who shall give them the Satisfaction they deserve." When the Herald had receiv'd this Answer, he went away; and *Xerxes*, leaving *Mardonius* in *Thessaly*, marched with precipitation to the *Hellespont*. His haste was so great, that he arriv'd at the Passage in forty five Days, follow'd only by an inconsiderable Part of the Army: For among all People without distinction, and in all Places that lay in their way, they plucked the Corn and Fruit they

met with, for their Nourishment ; but where they found no kind of Fruit, press'd by extreme Want, they fed upon the Herbage, that grew spontaneously on the Ground, and eat even the Bark and Leaves, which they stripped from the Trees, both wild and cultivated, leaving nothing behind. This brought a Plague into the Army, with frequent Dysenteries, and destroyed great Numbers in their March. The Sick *Xerxes* left in the Cities, through which he passed, commanding the Inhabitants to take care of them, and to furnish them with Provisions. Some he left in *Thessaly*, others at *Siris*, a Pæonian City, and some in *Macedonia* : But he could not recover the sacred Chariot of *Jupiter*, which he deposited there, as he was marching to invade *Greece* ; for the Pæonians having given it before to the Thracians, told *Xerxes*, when he demanded the Chariot, that those who inhabit the upper Parts of *Thrace*, about the Springs of the River *Strymon*, had taken it away, and the Mares out of the Pasture at the same time. In that Country, a Thracian, King of the Bysaltians and Chrestonians, did an Action of an extraordinary nature : For after he had declar'd he would not willingly be a Slave to *Xerxes*, and commanded his six Sons not to join in the Expedition against *Greece*, he retir'd to the top of Mount *Rhodope*. Nevertheless, either in contempt of his Command, or from a desire to see the War, they enter'd into the Army of *Xerxes* ; but at their Return, the Father, to punish their Disobedience, caus'd all their Eyes to be put out.

THE Persians arriving at the *Bosphorus*, by precipitate Marches through *Thrace*, passed over the *Hellespont* to *Abydus* in their Ships; because they found their Bridges broken and dissipated by a Storm. But being now more plentifully furnished with Provisions than before, they fill'd themselves so immoderately, that this Excess, together with the Change of Water, destroy'd a great part of the remaining Army; and *Xerxes*, with the rest, arriv'd at *Sardis*. Some relating this Retreat in another manner, say, that *Xerxes* went from *Athens* to *Eion*, upon the *Strymon*, and made no more Marches by Land; but leaving *Hydarnes* to take care of conducting the Army to the *Hellespont*, he went on board a Phœnician Ship, and passed over to *Asia*: That in his Voyage, a violent Wind arising, made so high a Sea, that his Ship being over-charged with Numbers of Persians, who were above Deck, was in imminent Danger from the Storm: That *Xerxes* fearing the Event, call'd aloud to the Pilot, asking him if he had any hope to save the Ship, and that the Pilot answered, "Sir, I have none, unless some way might be found to remove these Passengers:" That the King having heard his Answer, said to the Persians, "Who among you will shew his Love to the King, and save my Life, which now seems to be in your power?" That when he had pronounc'd these Words, all the Persians ador'd the King, and leaping into the Sea, lighten'd the Ship; by which means he arriv'd safe in *Asia*: That soon after his landing, he rewarded the Pilot with a Crown of Gold, for saving the King's Life; but commanded his Head to be struck off, for destroying so many

Persians. Nevertheless, this Manner of relating the Retreat of *Xerxes* is of no credit with me, for divers Reasons, and especially on account of the Catastrophe of the Persians: For granting that the Pilot said those Words to *Xerxes*, yet hardly one Man of a thousand will deny, that the King would have done thus: He would have sent down into the Body of the Ship, the Persians above Deck, who were principal Men of that Nation, and would as certainly have thrown into the Sea an equal number of Phœnicians, who were at the Oar. But indeed he return'd to *Asia* by Land, with the rest of the Army, as I said before: And to confirm this, we are asur'd, that *Xerxes* in his Return, was at *Abdera*; that he made an Alliance with the Abderites, and presented them with a Scymeter of Gold, and a gilded Ship; to which the Abderites add, tho' I can by no means believe the thing, that he took off his Girdle in their Country, for the first time, after his Flight from *Athens*, not thinking himself safe before. Besides, *Abdera* is nearer to the *Hellespont*, than the River *Strymon*, or the City of *Eion*, where they say he imbarke'd.

IN the mean time, the Grecians finding themselves unable to reduce *Andros*, departed to *Carythus*, and after they had ravag'd the Country, return'd to *Salamis*. There, in the first place, they set apart the Spoil they intended to consecrate to the Gods, and, among other things, three Phœnician Ships; one to be deposited at the Isthmus, which continued there to my time; a second at *Sunium*, and the third they dedicated to *Ajax*, at *Salamis*. After that, they parted the Booty among themselves, and sent Offerings to *Delphi*,

Delphi, of which a Statue was made, twelve Cubits high, holding the Prow of a Ship in one hand ; and erected in that Place, where *Alexander* the Macedonian stands in Gold. When the Grecians had made their Present to *Delphi*, they inquir'd of the God, in the Name of all, if he had receiv'd a grateful and satisfactory Offering : To which he answer'd, That from the rest of the Grecians he had, but not from the *Æginetes*; of whom he expected a due Acknowledgement, for having behav'd themselves with the greatest Valour in the Sea-fight. The *Æginetes* being inform'd of this Answer, sent three Stars of Gold, which were affixed to a Mast of solid Brass, and are seen in a Corner of the Temple, next to the Bowl of *Crœsus*. After the Grecians had thus dispos'd of the Booty, they set sail for the Isthmus, with a Resolution to confer the accustomed Honours upon the Person, who should be found to have behaved himself best in this War ; and accordingly, at their Arrival, the Captains brought in, and laid upon the Altar of *Neptune*, the Names of those they judg'd to deserve the first and second Place. But every one thinking he had perform'd his part best, every one wrote down his own Name first ; and for the most part gave his second Vote for *Themistocles* : So that each General adjudging the first Place to himself, in which they were single, left the second to *Themistocles* uncontested. And tho the Grecians, out of mutual Jealousy, would not determine this Dispute, but return'd to their several Countries, without coming to a Decision, yet *Themistocles* was universally applauded, and obtain'd the Reputation of the most pru-

dent Man in *Greece*. Nevertheless, because those who fought the Battel at *Salamis*, had not honour'd him as he expected, he went presently away to *Lacedemon*, that he might there receive the Honours he desir'd. The Lacedemonians receiv'd him splendidly, and paid him the greatest Respects. They decreed the Prize of Valour to *Eurybiades*; of Dexterity and Prudence, to *Themistocles*; and therefore presented each with a Crown of Olive. They also gave *Themistocles* the most magnificent Chariot in *Sparta*; and after they had said much in his praise, three hundred eminent Spartans of the Equestrian Order, attended him in his Return, to the Borders of *Tegea*; which is the single Example we know, of a Man accompanied by the Lacedemonians at his Departure. But upon his Return to *Athens*, from *Sparta*, *Timodemus*, of *Aphidna*, one of his Enemies, tho otherwise of no great figure, invidiously snatching the Occasion, reproached *Themistocles* with his Journey to *Lacedemon*, and objected, that the Honours he receiv'd from the Spartans, were not conferred on him for his own Merit, but on account of the Athenians. And because he continued to repeat the same things with importunity, *Themistocles* at last answer'd him; “ The truth is, *said he*, were I of *Belbina*, I should not have receiv'd so much Honour in *Sparta*, nor you, tho you are an Athenian.”

ARTABAZUS, the Son of *Pharnaces*, a Man of great Reputation among the Persians before, and of much greater after the Battel of *Plataea*, having with him sixty thousand Men, drawn out of that Army which *Mardonius* had chosen, conducted *Xerxes* to the Passage; and after the King's

King's Arrival in *Asia*, return'd back, and encamp'd about *Pallene*. But because *Mardonius*, wintering in *Thessaly* and in *Macedonia*, was not willing to augment his Camp with these Men, *Artabazus* thought to take that opportunity, to punish the Defection of the *Potidæans* with the utmost Rigour. For as soon as the King had passed by, and the Persian Fleet, flying from *Salamis*, was out of sight, they openly revolted from the Barbarians, and the Inhabitants of *Pallene* did the same: For that cause *Artabazus* laid siege to *Potidæa*; and suspecting the *Olynthians* would follow their Example, besieg'd *Olynthus* also, which was then in the possession of those *Bottæans*, who had been driven out of the Bay of *Therma* by the *Macedonians*. These, when he had taken the City, he brought down into a Morass, and put them all to death; after which he gave the Government to *Critobulus* of *Torone*, by Descent a Chalcidian, and by that means the Chalcidians became Masters of *Olynthus*. After the Reduction of this Place, *Artabazus* apply'd himself with more attention to the Siege of *Potidæa*; and as he was earnestly desirous to succeed in his Attempt, *Timoxenus*, Captain of the *Scionæans*, agreed to betray the City to him. Touching the beginning of their Correspondence I can say nothing, because nothing is reported; but the Event was thus: When *Timoxenus* had any thing to impart to *Artabazus*, or *Artabazus* to *Timoxenus*, they put a Letter into the Head of an Arrow; and afterwards affixing the Feathers, shot the Arrow into the Place they had agreed upon. But the Traitor *Timoxenus* was at last detected: For an Arrow of *Artabazus* happening to fall in a wrong

wrong Place, wounded one of the Potidæans in the Shoulder ; upon which the Multitude running together about the wounded Man, as is usual in time of War, drew out the Arrow, and having found the Letter, carried it to the principal Officers of the Potidæans, and of the other Pallenians their Confederates, who were then in the City. When they had read the Letter, and discover'd the Author of the Treachery, they determin'd, in favour of *Scione*, not to punish *Timoxenus* with death, lest the Scionæans should ever after be accounted Traitors. Thus the Treason of *Timoxenus* was detected : And as for *Artabazus*, after he had continu'd the Siege during three Months, the Tides rose so high, and lasted so long, that the Barbarians seeing all the Shore full of Water and Mire, retired towards *Pallene* ; and when they had passed two parts in five, of the March they had to make through that way, before they could arrive there, so great an Inundation came pouring in from the Sea, that the Inhabitants say the like never happen'd before, though more moderate Floods are frequent on that Coast. Those that could not swim, perish'd by the Waters ; and those that could, were killed by the Potidæans, who pursued them in Boats. The Cause of this Inundation and Disaster of the Persians, is, by the Potidæans, attributed to the Indignities done by those who were drown'd, to the Image and Temple of *Neptune*, which stands in the Suburbs ; and to me they seem to have made a right Judgment. The rest return'd with *Artabazus* to the Camp of *Mardonius* in *Thessaly* ; and such was the Fortune of those Troops that were sent to conduct the King.

THE

THE Remains of the Fleet of *Xerxes*, which fled from *Salamis*, arriving on the Coast of *Asia*, landed the King with his Army at *Abydus*, passed the Winter at *Cyme*, and in the beginning of the next ensuing Spring assembled at *Samos*, where some of their Ships had been laid up. The fighting Men they had on board, being for the most part Persians and Medes, were under the Conduct of *Mardonius*, the Son of *Bagoæus*, and *Artayntes*, the Son of *Artachæus*, in conjunction with *Amitres*, Uncle to the latter. And as they were extremely dispirited, and not compelled by necessity, they would not adventure to the Westward, but continu'd at *Samos* with three hundred Ships, including those of *Ionia*, to prevent the Ionians from revolting: not imagining that the Grecians would come thither, but be well contented to preserve their own Country; because they had so readily retir'd, without pursuing the Persians, when they fled from *Salamis*. Thus despairing of Victory by Sea, and yet believing *Mardonius*, with his Land-Forces, would be more successful, they consulted together at *Samos* what damage they might be able to do the Enemy, and at the same time were attentive to the Event of his Enterprise: But the Spring coming on, and *Mardonius* in *Thessaly*, awaken'd the Grecians; and though their Land-Army was not yet assembled, they arrived at *Ægina* with one hundred and ten Ships, putting themselves under the Conduct of *Leutychides*, descended from *Menares*, *Agesilaus*, *Hippocratides*, *Leutychides*, *Anaxilaus*, *Archidamus*, *Anaxandrides*, *Theopompus*, *Nicander*, *Charilus*, *Eunomus*, *Polydectes*, *Prytanis*, *Euryphæus*, *Procles*,

Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hylus, and Hercules. He was of the other Branch of the Royal Family, and his Progenitors were all Kings of *Sparta*, except the four last, and the seven I mention'd immediately after *Leutychides*. *Xanthippus*, the Son of *Ariphron*, was General of the Athenians; and when all these Ships were assembled at *Ægina*, certain Ionians arrived in the Grecian Fleet, being the same Persons who a little before had been at *Sparta*, to desire the Lacedemonians to deliver *Ionia* from Servitude; and of these *Herodotus*, the Son of *Basilides*, was one. They had been at the beginning seven, and having determin'd to kill *Straties*, Tyrant of the Chians, were discover'd by one of their Accomplices; so that the other six withdrawing privately from *Chio*, went first to *Sparta*, and then to *Ægina*, beseeching the Grecians to sail to *Ionia*, but could hardly prevail with them to advance to *Delos*: for all beyond that Place seem'd terrible to the Grecians; who being ignorant of the Countries, thought every part to be full of Enemies, and that *Samos* was as far distant from them, as the Columns of *Hercules*. Thus because the Barbarians durst not venture to sail beyond *Samos* Westward, nor the Grecians Eastward beyond *Delos*, though earnestly pressed by the Chians, their mutual Fears preserved the Nations that lay between both.

DURING the time of this Voyage to *Delos*, *Mardonius* having passed the Winter in *Thessaly*, and being ready to march out of that Country, sent away a certain Person of European Extraction, named *Mus*, with order to contrive some means to get access to the Oracles,

cles, and to consult for him. What Questions he commanded him to propose to the Oracles, I cannot determine, because Fame is silent in that particular; but I am of opinion, that he sent to enquire about the Affairs then depending, and not of other things. However, we are certain that this *Mus* arriv'd in *Lebadia*, and having corrupted a Native of the Place, descended into the Cave of *Tropionius*; that he procured Access to the Oracle of *Abe* in *Phocis*, and that he had been before at *Thebes*, where he consulted the Ismenian *Apollo*, offering such Sacrifices as are used in *Olympia*, and bribed a Stranger, not a Theban, to sleep in the Temple of *Amphiaraus*: For none of the Thebans are permitted to consult there, because when *Amphiaraus* left to their choice, whether they would have him for their Prophet, or their Ally, the Thebans rather chose to take him for their Ally; and for this cause no Theban may sleep in his Temple. In that time a surprizing thing happened, as I was informed by the Thebans; they told me, that this *Mus* of *Europus*, as he went round to all the Oracles, arrived at the Temple of the Ptoan *Apollo*; which, tho called by that Name, belongs to the Thebans, and stands beyond the Lake *Copais*, at the foot of the Mountain, near the City of *Acræphia*: That he had no sooner entered the Temple, accompanied by three Citizens, chosen by the Publick to write down the words of the Oracle, than the Archpriestess immediately spoke in a barbarous Tongue: That when those Thebans, who follow'd him, stood amazed to hear a Barbarian Language instead of Greek, and knew not what to do on that occasion, *Mus* suddenly

suddenly snatching the Table-Book they brought with them, wrote down the words of the Priestess, which, they say, were in the Carian Tongue ; and after he had done, departed for *Thessaly*.

WHEN *Mardonius* had read the Answers of the Oracles, he sent *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas*, a Macedonian, to *Athens* ; as well on account of his Relation to the Persians, by the Marriage of his Sister *Gygea* to *Bubares* a Persian, who had by her a Son named after his Grandfather *Amyntas*, to whom the King of *Phrygia* had given the Revenues of *Alabanda* ; as because he was informed of the mutual Friendship and Hospitality that passed between him and the Athenians. This way he thought most effectual to gain the Athenians ; and having not only heard that they were a numerous and valiant People, but believing they had been the principal Cause of the late Disaster of the Persians in the Sea-fight, he hoped, with reason, that if he could bring them over, he should easily become Master at Sea ; and being persuaded of the Superiority of his Land-Forces, concluded, that he should be able to conquer *Greece*. Perhaps also the Oracles counselled him to procure the Alliance of the Athenians. However, for the Reasons above-mentioned, he sent away *Alexander*, Successor, in the seventh Generation, of that *Perdiccas*, who obtained the Monarchy of *Macedonia*, in the following manner : *Gauanes*, *Æropus*, and *Perdiccas*, three Brothers, Descendants of *Temenus*, fled from *Argos* to *Illyria*, and from thence passing into the Upper *Macedonia*, arrived in the City of *Leba*, where they entered

tered into the King's Service for Wages. One of them had the care of his Horses, another of his Oxen, and *Perdiccas*, who was the youngest, kept the lesser Cattle; for in antient time, not only the People, but Monarchs too, had little Wealth. And as the Wife of this King made their Bread, she constantly perceived that of *Perdiccas* increased to double the Quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, she acquainted her Husband with what she had seen. The King having heard her, and taking the thing for a Prodigy portending some considerable Event, sent for the Brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his Territories. They answered, That in justice they ought to receive their Salaries, and then they would readily go. But the King hearing them mention their Salary, and at the same time seeing the Sun shining through the Chimney into the House, blasphemously said, "This I give you as a sufficient Reward of your Service;" pointing to the Sun, as he pronounced those words. *Gauanes* and *Ærpus*, the elder Brothers, stood amazed at his Discourse; but the youngest answering, "We accept thy Offer, O King," took out a Sword, which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a Circle upon the Floor round the Brightness, made three several Motions to put up the Light of the Sun into his Bosom, and then departed with his Brothers. After their Departure, one of those who were present, told the King what the Youth had done, and that being the youngest, he must have had some Design in accepting his Offer: Which when the King heard, he fell into a great

great Rage, and sent away Men on horseback, with Orders to pursue and kill the Brothers. In this Country is a River, to which the Descendants of these Argians sacrifice in commemoration of their Deliverance ; because they had no sooner passed, than the Streams ran so high, and with such Violence, that the Horsemen could not possibly get over. The Temenides thus escaping, went to inhabit in another Country of *Macedonia*, near the Gardens that are said to have belonged to *Midas*, the Son of *Gordias* ; where Roses of sixty Leaves each, and of a more fragrant Scent than any other, grow naturally without Cultivation. If we may believe the Macedonians, *Silenus* was taken in these Gardens ; which are shelter'd by a Mountain called *Bermion*, inaccessible in Winter. Here they began their first Enterprizes ; and after they had reduced these Parts, they subdued the rest of *Macedonia*. From this *Perdiccas*, *Alexander* derived his Blood, in the following manner : *Alexander* was the Son of *Amyntas*, *Amyntas* of *Alethes*, *Alethes* of *Æropus*, *Æropus* of *Philip*, *Philip* of *Aræus*, and *Aræus* of *Perdiccas*, who acquired the Kingdom.

ALEXANDER, the Son of *Amyntas*, arriving at *Athens* on the part of *Mardonius*, spokethus to the Athenians : “ Men of *Athens*, *Mardonius* has sent me to tell you, that he has received a Message from the King, containing these words : I forgive the Athenians all the Injuries they have done me ; and therefore, *Mardonius*, observe the following Orders : Re-instate them in the possession of their own Territories ; give them moreover whatever other

" other Country they shall chuse; let them
 " govern by their own Laws, and rebuild all
 " their Temples which I have burnt, if they
 " will come to an Agreement with me. Hav-
 " ing received these Orders, I am obliged to
 " put them in execution, unless you prevent
 " me: And now I myself would ask you, what
 " Madness pushes you on to make war against
 " a King you will never conquer, nor always
 " be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the
 " numerous Forces and great Actions of *Xerxes*;
 " you have heard of the Army I have, and if
 " you should happen to be victorious, and to
 " defeat us, which you can never hope so long
 " as you have the use of Reason, another much
 " more powerful will come against you. Suf-
 " fer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of
 " your Country, and continually alarmed for
 " your own Lives, by measuring your Strength
 " with the King; but be reconciled to him,
 " since you have now so favourable an Opportu-
 " nity in your hands, from the present Dispo-
 " sition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into an
 " Alliance with us, sincerely and without
 " fraud, and continue to be a free People.
 " These, O Athenians, are the words which
 " *Mardonius* ordered me to say to you: For
 " my own part, I shall not mention my con-
 " stant Affection to your State, because you
 " have had sufficient proof of that in former
 " time. I beseech you then, hearken to the
 " Counsel of *Mardonius*; for I see you will not
 " always be able to make war against *Xerxes*.
 " Had I not known this, I should never have
 " undertaken to bring you such a Message; but
 " the King's Power is incomparably greater

“ than that of all other Mortals, and his Reach
“ so extensive, that, unless you immediately
“ accept the favourable Conditions he offers, I
“ dread the Consequence to you, who lying in
“ the way of Danger more than any other of
“ the Confederates, and possessing a Country,
“ placed as a Prize between the contending
“ Parties, must be always most exposed to
“ Ruin. Let these Reasons prevail with you,
“ and consider the important Advantages you
“ will receive, if the great King forgives you
“ alone among all the Grecians, and becomes
“ your Friend.” Thus spoke *Alexander*. But
the Lacedemonians having been informed that
he was gone to *Athens*, in order to persuade the
Athenians to an Agreement with the Barbarian;
and remembering the Oracles had predicted, that
they, together with the rest of the Dorians,
should be ejected out of *Peloponnesus* by the
Medes and the Athenians, were not a little
afraid that the Athenians would make Peace
with the Persian; and therefore resolved forth-
with to send Ambassadors to *Athens*, who hap-
pened to be present in this Assembly. For the
Athenians had purposely protracted the time of
their meeting, that, as a point of Decency, they
might openly shew their Intentions to the La-
cedemonians; not doubting, that when they
should hear of a Messenger coming to *Athens*
from the Barbarian to treat of Peace, they would
immediately send to them. By this means *A-
lexander* had no sooner finished his Discourse,
than the Spartan Ambassadors speaking next,
said, “ The Lacedemonians have sent us hither,
“ to desire you not to introduce Innovations in-
“ to Greece, nor to hearken to the Propositions
“ of

“ of the Barbarians ; because such Actions are
 “ altogether unjust, and dishonourable in any
 “ of the Grecians, and least of all becoming
 “ you, for many Reasons. In the first place,
 “ you were the Author of the War against our
 “ Inclination ; the Dispute was about your
 “ Territories, which is now spread through all
 “ *Greece* ; and what can be more intolerable,
 “ than that the Grecians should be brought into
 “ Servitude by means of the Athenians, who,
 “ in all preceding Times, have been famous
 “ for delivering many Nations from Oppres-
 “ sion ? We affectionately take part in your
 “ Sufferings, we are grieved to see you twice
 “ lose the Produce of your Lands, and be so
 “ long deprived of your Families and Habita-
 “ tions. But in compensation, the Lacedemo-
 “ nians, with the other Allies, promise to pro-
 “ vide Subsistence for your Wives, and all o-
 “ ther Persons unfit to bear Arms, and belong-
 “ ing to you, as long as the War shall conti-
 “ nue. Be not therefore seduced by the deiu-
 “ sive Colours which *Alexander* the Macedo-
 “ nian has put upon the words of *Macedonius*.
 “ He acts in conformity to his Condition ; he
 “ helps the Tyrant, because he is a Tyrant
 “ himself. But you ought to act in another
 “ manner, if you judge rightly, because you
 “ know the Barbarians have no regard either to
 “ Truth or Justice.” When the Spartan Ambas-
 “ sadors had thus spoken, the Athenians gave
 “ the following Answer to *Alexander* : “ We know
 “ the Forces of the Medes are far greater than
 “ ours, and therefore that Insult was unneces-
 “ sary ; yet, in order to preserve our Liberty,
 “ we will defend ourselves as long as we can.

“ But we would have you forbear attempting
“ to persuade us to treat with the Barbarian,
“ because you shall never prevail. Go then,
“ and tell *Mardonius*, that the Athenians de-
“ clare, they will never make Peace with
“ *Xerxes*, so long as the Sun shall continue to
“ perform his Course ; and that, trusting to
“ the Assistance of the Gods and Heroes, whose
“ Temples and Images he has burnt in con-
“ tempt, we resolve to resist him to the last
“ extremity. In conclusion, appear no more
“ in the Presence of the Athenians with such
“ Messages, nor exhort us to detestable Actions,
“ under colour of doing us good Offices : For
“ we are unwilling to use Methods that may
“ be uneasy to you, who are our Friend, and
“ engaged with us in a reciprocal Hospitality.”

This was their Answer to *Alexander* ; and to
the Spartan Ambassadors they said, “ If the
“ Lacedemonians have been apprehensive, lest
“ we should come to an Accommodation with
“ the Barbarian, their Thought was very na-
“ tural, as they are Men ; but such Fears seem
“ indecent in you, who know the Sentiments
“ of the Athenians. Not all the Gold in the
“ World, nor the greatest, richest, and most
“ beautiful Country, shall ever induce us to
“ join with the Medes, and to betray the Li-
“ berty of *Greece*. Many and powerful Rea-
“ sons forbid us to do this, even though we
“ had the Inclination. The first and greatest
“ is, that the Temples and Images of the Gods
“ have been burnt, and laid in Heaps of Ruin.
“ This we are under a necessity of avenging
“ with the utmost Rigour, rather than to make
“ Peace with the Man who has perpetrated the
“ Crime.

" Crime. Besides, as the Grecians are of one
 " Blood and Language, have the same Altars
 " and Sacrifices, and altogether resemble one
 " another in Manners ; the Athenians would
 " act an unbecoming Part, should they be the
 " Betrayers of *Greece* : In a word, be now in-
 " formed, if you knew it not before, that so
 " long as one Athenian is left alive, we will ne-
 " ver make an Accommodation with *Xerxes*.
 " We acknowledge your provident Care of us,
 " in the Willingness you express to furnish
 " Subsistence for our Families, now we have
 " lost our Houses and Harvests, and return you
 " Thanks in as full a manner, as if we had re-
 " ceived the Benefit ; but shall continue to
 " make Provision for ourselves, without being
 " a Burden to you. At present, in regard to
 " the Condition of Affairs, let your Army
 " march out with all possible Expedition : For
 " we are of opinion, that the Barbarian will
 " not delay to invade our Territories ; but ad-
 " vance immediately, after he shall hear that
 " we will do none of the things he demands of
 " us. The best way therefore that we can
 " take, is to prevent him, by marching into
 " *Bœotia* with our Forces, before he arrives in
 " *Attica*."





THE
History of *Herodotus*.

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

THE Lacedemonians having receiv'd this Answer from the Athenians, departed for *Sparta*; and when *Mardonius* was inform'd by *Alexander*, at his Return, how things had pass'd, he set out from *Thessaly*, and led his Army with diligence towards *Athens*, taking with him the Forces of all those Places that lay upon his March. The Thessalians of most Authority, were so far from repenting of their former Actions, that they pressed the Persian more than ever, to go on with his Enterprize; and among them, one *Thorax*, of *Larissa*, who had serv'd for a Guide to *Xerxes* in his Flight, now openly conducted *Mardonius* into *Greece*. When the Persian Army arriv'd in *Bœotia*, the Thebans went to *Mardonius*, and told him by way of Advice, that their Country, of all other, was most convenient for his Camp,

and that, if he would continue there, and advance no farther, he might be Master of *Greece* without hazarding a Battel : That the Grecians, when unanimous, were so strong, as hardly to be conquered by all Mankind, which he had already experienc'd : “ But if, *said they*, you will “ do as we advise, you may without difficulty “ frustrate their best-concerted Measures : Send “ Money to the principal Persons of every Ci- “ ty ; for by that means you will split *Greece* “ into Factions, and then you may easily sub- “ due those who are not in your Interest, and “ the Factious at the same time.” Such Coun-
sel the Thebans gave to *Mardonius* ; but he, partly from a vehement Desire he had to take *Athens* a second time, and partly out of Vanity, imagining, that by firing the Beacons in the Islands, he should shew the King at *Sardis*, that he was Master of *Athens*, would not be persua-
ded. When he arriv'd in *Attica*, he found no Athenians there ; but being inform'd that most of them were at *Salamis*, and on board the Fleet, he took possession of the abandon'd City in the tenth Month after the King's Entrance. Being possessed of *Athens*, he dispatch'd *Murichides*, a Hellespontin, to *Salamis*, with the same Instruc^tions, which *Alexander* the Macedonian had already carried to the Athenians ; not that he was ignorant of the little Friendship they had for him, but hoping they would remit some-
thing of their Haughtiness, since *Attica*, reduced by the Fortune of War, was now in his power. Accordingly, *Murichides* arriving at *Salamis*, went into the Council ; and when he had spoken as he was instructed by *Mardonius*, *Lycidas*, one of the Senators, delivered for his Opinion, that
the

the best Resolution they could take, would be, to receive the Propositions brought by *Murichides*, and refer them to the People. This he said, either because he was corrupted by *Mardonius* with Money, or because he was really of that opinion. But the Athenians, who were in the Council, having heard his Words, and those without being soon inform'd of what he had said, they all resented the thing with the highest Indignation; and immediately gathering about *Lycidas*, stoned him to death, dismissing *Murichides* the Hellefontin without Hurt. The Athenian Women observing the Tumult that happen'd at *Salamis* on this Occasion, and inquiring into the Cause, were no sooner inform'd of the Fact, than taking one another by the Hand, with mutual Exhortations, they went without other Inducement to the House of *Lycidas*, and stoned his Wife with his Children. The Reason that mov'd the Athenians to go to *Salamis*, was this: They had continued in *Attica* as long as they had any Hope that the Forces of the Peloponnesians would come to their assistance; but when they perceiv'd their Indolency, and insupportable Delays, and were inform'd that *Mardonius* was already advanced into *Bœotia*, they transported themselves with their Goods to *Salamis*. From thence they sent Ambassadors to *Sparta*, to complain of the Lacedemonians, for shewing no Concern at the Irruption of the Barbarian into *Attica*, and neglecting to join the Athenians with their Forces, in order to oppose the common Enemy in *Bœotia*. They were also to remind them of the great Advantages the Persian had offer'd, if the Athenians would embrace his Interest; and to fore-

warn

warn them, that unless they were succoured, they would find some Remedy themselves. At the same time the Lacedemonians were employ'd in celebrating the Festival of *Hyacinthus*, which they observe with great Solemnity, and in building a Wall for themselves upon the Isthmus, which was already covered with Battlements. In this Conjecture, the Athenian Ambassadors, accompanied by those of *Megara* and *Platæa*, arriving in *Sparta*, went to the Ephori, and said ;
“ The Athenians have sent us hither, with
“ Orders to speak thus to you : The King of
“ the Medes is willing to restore our Territo-
“ ries ; and not only to make an Alliance with
“ us upon a foot of Equality, without Fraud
“ or Disimulation, but to give us any other
“ Country we shall chuse : Yet the Reverence
“ we bear to the Grecian *Jupiter*, and our Ab-
“ horrence of the Crime of betraying *Greece*,
“ have prevail'd with us to refuse our Consent,
“ and to reject his Offers ; though, in requital,
“ we are injur'd and betrayed by the Grecians.
“ We know we should consult our own Interest
“ more, by making Peace with the Persian, than
“ by continuing the War ; but we will never
“ willingly come to an Accommodation with
“ him. This is our Way of demonstrating our
“ sincere Affection to the Grecians : But you,
“ who were then in the utmost Consternation
“ lest we should make our Peace with the Per-
“ sian, were no sooner assured of our constant
“ Resolution never to betray *Greece*, and had
“ built a Wall for your own Defence upon the
“ Isthmus, than you threw off all Concern for
“ the Athenians. For after you had promis'd
“ to advance into *Bœotia* with us, in order to
“ prevent.

“ prevent the Persian, you left us to shift for
“ ourselves, and looked upon the Irruption of
“ the Barbarian into *Attica*, with Indifference.
“ Hitherto the Athenians are dissatisfied with
“ you, for neglecting to do that which was be-
“ coming : At present they exhort you to send
“ your Forces, to join them with all Expedition;
“ that having lost the Opportunity of meeting
“ the Enemy in *Bœotia*, we may find him in
“ *Attica*, where the Plain of *Thria* is the most
“ commodious Place of all our Territories for
“ fighting the Battel.” When the Ephori had
heard this Message, they put off their Answer
to the next Day, and from that to another, still
protracting the time from day to day, till ten
Days were pasted : During which, all the Pelo-
ponnesians wrought with the utmost diligence
at the Isthmus, and finished the Wall. I can give
no other Reason of the great Industry they used
to prevent the Athenians from taking part with
the Medes, when *Alexander* the Macedonian was
at *Athens*, and of their total Neglect of them af-
terwards, than that having fenced the Isthmus
with a Wall, they thought they had no farther
need of the Athenians : Whereas, when *Alexan-
der* went to *Athens*, their Wall was not yet built,
but they were hard at work, and much afraid of
the Persians. At length, things turn'd in the
following manner, with relation to their Answer
and March : The day before the meeting of the
last publick Assembly, *Chileus*, of *Tegea*, a Man
of the greatest Credit with the Spartans, of any
Stranger, being told by one of the Ephori
what the Athenians had said, spoke to them
in these Terms : “ The Matter in short, is
“ thus : If the Athenians divide from you, and
join

“ join with the Barbarian, he will enter *Peloponnesus* by Passages large enough, notwithstanding the strong Wall you have built upon the Isthmus ; therefore hearken to the Athenians, before they come to any Resolution that may be prejudicial to *Greece*.” Such was the Counsel of *Chileus* ; which the Ephori having considered with Attention, they immediately the same night, and without speaking to the Ambassadors, sent out five thousand Spartans, with seven Helots to attend each, under the Conduct of *Pausanias*, the Son of *Cleombrotus*. These Forces should have been led by *Platarchus*, the Son of *Leonidas* ; but because he was under Age, they were committed to the care of *Pausanias*, who was his Guardian and Cousin-German : For *Cleombrotus*, the Father of *Pausanias*, and Son to *Anaxandrides*, died in his Return with the Army, after they had built the Wall upon the Isthmus : from whence he decamped with his Forces, because the Sun was darkened in the Heavens, whilst he sacrificed for Success against the Persian. *Pausanias* chose *Euryanax*, the Son of *Doris*, a Man of his own Blood, to assist him in the Conduct of this Army.

WHEN these Forces were gone from *Sparta* with *Pausanias*, the Ambassadors knowing nothing of their Departure, and designing to return forthwith to their Principals, went early the next morning to the Ephori, and said, “ You are here, O Lacedemonians, at your ease, celebrating the Festival of *Hyacinthus*, and diverting yourselves, whilst you betray your Allies. But know that the Athenians, injured by you, and destitute of Succour, will make Peace with the Persian on such Terms as

“ as they can obtain. When we have done so, “ and are become the King’s Allies, we shall be “ oblig’d to march with him against whatever “ Country he shall lead us, and then you will “ see the Event of these Counsels.” After the Ambassadors had thus spoken, the Ephori assured them with an Oath, that their Army was in full March against the Foreigners, for by that name they call the Barbarians, and that they doubted not they were already arrived at *Orestia*. The Ambassadors not comprehending this Discourse, desired to know their meaning ; and being much surpriz’d when they heard the whole Truth, departed with all possible Expedition to follow the Troops. Five thousand Men more, drawn out of the Places adjacent to *Lacedemon*, marched out at the same time to join *Pausanias*.

WHILST these Forces advanced in diligence towards the Isthmus, the Argians, who had before undertaken to *Mardonius*, that they would prevent the Spartans from going out, hearing they were actually upon the March, under the Conduct of *Pausanias*, dispatched the best Courier they had to *Attica* ; where, at his Arrival, he spoke thus to *Mardonius* : “ The Argians have sent me to inform you, that the Youth of *Lacedemon* are marched out, and that they could find no way to hinder them : they wish you may take the most advantageous measures in this Emergency.” When he had said these words, he went away, in order to return home ; but *Mardonius* having received this Information, would not venture to stay longer in *Attica*, where he had continu’d to that time, to see what the Athenians would do, and had

had neither intrenched himself, nor ravaged the Country, being in daily expectation that the Athenians would make their Peace. But now finding he could not prevail with them, and understanding how things had passed, he withdrew his Army out of *Attica*, before *Pausanias* arrived at the Isthmus, having first set fire to *Athens*, and demolished whatever remained standing of the Walls, Houses, and Temples, laying all in Heaps of Ruin. He quitted *Attica*, because the Country is not proper for Cavalry; and if he should have lost a Battel, he had no way to get off except thro narrow Passes, in which a small number of Men might have intercepted his Retreat. For these Reasons he determined to retire to *Thebes*, and to fight in a Country commodious for Horse, and Friends to the Persians. In this manner he abandoned *Attica*, and in his Retreat receiv'd a Message, with information, that a Body of a thousand Lacedemonians were gone towards *Megara*: which he no sooner understood, than resolving to make his first Attempt upon these, he turned his March that way, and sent out his Horse before to scour the Country. So far this Persian Army penetrated into *Europe* Westward, and no farther.

AFTER this, *Mardonius* being informed by a second Message, that the Grecian Forces were assembled at the Isthmus, returned back by the way of *Decelia*, having for his Guides certain Persons sent to him by the Bœotians from the Country adjoining to the River *Asopus*. They conducted him first to *Sphendale*, then to *Tanagra*, where he passed the Night, and the next day to *Colon*, a Place belonging to the Thebans. After his Arrival, he ravaged their Territories for

for Provisions, tho they were in the Interest of the Medes, not out of Enmity to the Thebans, but compelled by Necessity : For he resolved to intrench himself with his Army, that he might have a Place of Refuge, in case he should not meet with the Success he desired in a Battel. His Camp extended from *Erythraea* to the Country of the Platæans, by the way of *Hyria*, stretching along the River *Asopus*, and was strengthened by a Wall of less Circumference than one might expect, having only about ten Stades on each Front. While the Barbarians were employed in this Work, *Attaginus*, the Son of *Phryno*, a Theban, invited *Mardonius*, with fifty of the most eminent Persians, to a magnificent Feast, which he had prepared at *Thebes*; and they came accordingly. The rest of this Relation I heard from the mouth of *Thersander* of *Orchomenus*, a Man of great Reputation among the Orchomenians. He told me, that he was one of fifty Thebans, invited by *Attaginus* to this Feast, and that each Person had not a Table to himself, but that two Men were placed at each, a Persian and a Theban : That after Supper, in the midst of their Cups, the Persian, who sat by him, asking him, in the Grecian Tongue, of what Country he was; and finding by his Answer that he was of *Orchomenus*, said to him : " Since we are Companions, in eating and drinking at the same Table, I will leave my Opinion with you, that you may remember me; and foreseeing the Event, may prudently consult your own Safety. You see these Persians now feasting here, and you have seen the Army we left encamped upon the River. Of all these you will see few Survivors in a

" little

“ little time.” *Thersander* added, That the Persian, having thus spoken, shed abundance of Tears, and that he himself being much astonished at his words, asked him, if these things should not rather be communicated to *Mardonius*, and to those Persons, who, next to him, were the most considerable of the Army? To which he answered, “ That which God has determined, Men cannot avert; besides, among us, the best Advice prevails with no Man. Many of the Persians are convinced of these things, but we are necessitated to follow *Mardonius*; and the most pernicious of all the Evils that infest Mankind, is, when he who understands much, has nothing in his power.” This Relation I had from *Thersander* the Orchomenian, who told me, at the same time, that he had given an account of his Discourse with the Persian to divers others, before the Battel was fought at *Plataea*.

DURING the time *Mardonius* was incamped in *Bœotia*, all the Grecians of the adjacent Parts, that were in the Interest of the Medes, sent in their Forces, and marched with him to *Athens*; except only the Phoceans, who had been constrained by necessity to take part with them, much against their Inclination. But, not many days after his Arrival at *Thebes*, they also joined him with a thousand Men well armed, and led by *Harmocydæs*, a Citizen of principal Authority among them. When they were arrived at *Thebes*, *Mardonius* sent out some Horse, to order the Phoceans to encamp by themselves in the Plain; which they had no sooner done, than all the Cavalry of the Army appeared in sight. By this means a Rumour was spread among the Grecian

Grecian Forces with *Mardonius*, that the Horse were ordered to massacre all the Phoceans with their Javelins : and after the same had been also divulged among the Phoceans themselves, their Captain *Harmocedes*, to awaken their Courage, said, “ These Men, O Phoceans, have a manifest Design to take away our Lives, and I believe the Thessalians are our Accusers. Every one of you therefore must exert himself to the utmost on this occasion ; because we ought rather to die resisting, and doing something in our own defence, than tamely to expose ourselves to suffer a most disgraceful Death. Let us then convince some of these Barbarians, that they are not a Match for the Grecians, whose Murder they designed.”

Thus *Harmocedes* encouraged the Phoceans ; and at the same time the Horse having surrounded them on all sides, moved on in a hostile Posture, brandishing their Javelins, and some actually threw. But when they saw the Phoceans standing firm, drawn into the closest Order, and fronting every way, they turned about and retired to their Army. I cannot certainly tell whether this Cavalry came to destroy the Phoceans at the desire of the Thessalians, and seeing them determined to resist, retired for fear of exposing their Persons, covering their Retreat with the Pretext of Orders from *Mardonius* ; or whether they came only with a design to try the Courage of the Phoceans. But after the return of the Horse, *Mardonius* sent them a Message, in these words : “ Fear nothing, O Phoceans ! you have given manifest proof that you are Men of Valour, contrary to the Information I had received. Bear the 'I'olts of

“ this War with Resolution, and be assured
 “ that you shall never do more for me, and
 “ for the King, than we will do for you.” Such
 was the Event of this Affair concerning the
 Phoceans.

WHEN the Lacedemonians were advanced to the Isthmus, and encamped with their Army ; the other Peloponnesians, at least as many as had the common Cause at heart, having heard of their Arrival, and perceiving the Spartans disposed to march on, thought they could not stay behind without disgrace. Accordingly, after they had performed their Sacrifices auspiciously, they all marched out from the Isthmus ; and advancing to *Eleusis*, sacrificed again there with the same fortunate Presages, and continued their March, in conjunction with the Athenians, who arriving from *Salamis*, had joined the Peloponnesians at *Eleusis*. When they were advanced to *Erythra* in *Bœotia*, and perceived the Barbarians encamped by the River *Asopus*, they consulted together, and placed their Camp right against the Enemy, at the foot of the Mountain *Cytheron* : But *Mardonius* finding that the Grecians declined to come out into the Plain, sent all his Cavalry, commanded by *Masistius*, a Man of great Esteem among the Persians, and called by the Grecians *Macifius*, to insult their Camp. He mounted a Nisean Horse, that wore a Bridle of Gold, and all other Furniture suitably magnificent. The Cavalry advancing to the Camp of the Grecians, made their Attacks by Parties, in which they did great mischief, and challenged them under the name of Women. In these Attempts the Megareans, who were accidentally posted in that part,

part, which was most accessible, and lay most exposed to the Enemies Horse, finding themselves hard pressed, sent a Trumpeter to the Grecian Generals, with a Message, which he delivered in these Terms: “ The Megareans say thus, Friends and Allies, we are not able alone to sustain the Efforts of the Persian Horse, having had the same Station from the beginning, in which we now are, and where we have hitherto maintained ourselves by our Constancy and Fortitude, though not without great difficulty ; but now, unless you will send some other Forces to relieve us, we must abandon our Post.” When the Messenger had thus spoken, *Pausanias* sounded the Grecians, to see if any of them would voluntarily offer to march into that Quarter to relieve the Megareans. But after they had all refused, the Athenians undertook the Charge with a Body of three hundred chosen Men, led by *Olympiodorus*, the Son of *Lampon*. These were they who took upon them to defend that Post, which the rest of the Grecians at *Erythra* had declined ; and being accompanied by a Party of Archers, chosen by themselves, fought the Enemy for some time : till at last, as the Cavalry continued to attack in Squadrons, the Horse of *Masistius* appearing before the rest, was wounded in the Side with an Arrow ; and rising upright, impatient of the Pain, threw his Rider to the ground. The Athenians seeing *Masistius* fall, immediately surrounded him ; and having first seized his Horse, killed him, as he endeavoured to defend himself. Yet this they could not do presently, because he wore a Cuirass underneath covered with Mails of Gold, and a purple

Cloke for his upper Garment. They tried in vain to penetrate his Cuirass ; which an Athenian perceiving, thrust him into the Eye, and by that Wound he fell down and died. His own Troops at first knew nothing of his Death ; for they neither saw him, when he fell from his Horse, nor when he was killed, nor even, at the time of their Retreat, had they heard of the Accident. But coming to make a halt, they presently enquired for their General, because they perceived there was no Commander ; and as soon as they were informed of his Fate, animating one another, they all together pushed their Horses against the Enemy, in order to carry off the dead Body. When the Athenians saw that they no longer attacked in Parties, but with their whole Force, they called out for Succour to the rest of the Army : Yet before the Infantry could come to their Relief, the Dispute about the Body of *Masistius* was so sharp and unequal, that the three hundred, being unable to keep their Ground, were obliged to retire : But after the Grecian Forces came in to their Assistance, the Enemies Horse not daring to continue the Fight, abandoned the dead Body, with many of their Men killed upon the Place ; and retiring to the distance of about two Stades to consult together, resolved to return to *Mardonius*, because they had then no General. When they arrived in the Camp, *Mardonius*, and all the Army, broke out into the loudest Lamentations for the Death of *Masistius*, cutting off not only their own Hair, but that of their Horses and Cattel of Draught. Their Ejulations were heard all over *Boeotia*, as for the Loss of a Man, who, next to *Mardonius*, was

was in most Esteem among the Persians, and with the King. In this manner the Barbarians lamented the Death of *Masistius*, according to the Custom of their own Country.

THE Grecians having thus sustained and repulsed the Enemies Cavalry, were much encouraged ; and because their Men, out of a desire to view the Body of *Masistius*, left their Stations in great numbers, they placed it on a Chariot, and carried it through every Quarter of the Camp ; a Spectacle deserving admiration, on account of his Stature and Comeliness. After this they resolved to march down into the Territories of the Platæans, judging those Parts much more commodious for their Camp, than the Country about *Erythra*, in divers respects, and especially that they might be well supplied with Water. For this reason having determined to encamp near the Spring of *Gargaphia*, which is in that Country, they marched with their Arms by the foot of Mount *Cytheron*, at a little distance from *Hygia*, into the Territories of *Platæa*, where when they arrived, they encamped in a Plain, intermixed with some small Elevations of Ground, near the Gargaphian Spring, and the Temple of the Hero *Androcrates*, assigning a separate Quarter to the Troops of every Nation. In the Distribution of these Stations a long Dispute arose between the Tegeans and the Athenians, both sides claiming a Right to be placed at the Head of one of the Wings, and alledging their ancient and late Actions to justify their Pretensions. " We, said the Tegeans, have always been honoured with this Post among the Allies, whenever the Peloponnesians have

“ marched out with united Forces, from the
“ time in which the Heraclides attempted to re-
“ turn into *Peloponnesus*, after the Death of *Eu-
“ rytheus*; and we then obtained this Dignity in
“ the following manner: When we, in conjunc-
“ tion with the Achaians and Ionians of *Pelopon-
“ nesus*, had marched to the Isthmus, and were
“ encamped in sight of the Invaders, *Hyllus* said
“ publickly, that they ought not to expose the
“ Armies to the danger of a Battel; but that
“ the Peloponnesians ought rather to pick out
“ the Man they should think the most valiant of
“ all their Camp, to fight singly with him, and
“ so put an end to the Dispute. The Pelopon-
“ nesians accepted the Condition, and an Agree-
“ ment, confirmed by an Oath, was made be-
“ tween both Armies, in these Terms: If *Hyllus*
“ conquer the Peloponnesian Captain, the Coun-
“ tries that were possessed by his Father, shall be
“ restored to him; but if he be conquered, the
“ Heraclides shall depart with their Army, and
“ not endeavour to return into *Peloponnesus* du-
“ ring the space of an hundred years. On this
“ occasion *Echemus*, the Son of *Æropus*, and
“ Grandson of *Phegeus*, our King and General,
“ being preferred by the Confederates before all
“ others, to his great satisfaction, fought the
“ Duel, and killed *Hyllus*. By that Action we
“ obtained of the Peloponnesians several great
“ Prerogatives, which we enjoy to this day;
“ and particularly that of having the Post of
“ Honour in one of the Wings, whensoever we
“ should march out upon an Expedition by com-
“ mon Consent. We pretend not to contest
“ with you, O Lacedemonians, but are ready
“ to give you the Preference, and to acquiesce
“ in

“ in the choice you shall make : Only we
 “ challenge the leading of the other Wing, ac-
 “ cording to the Custom of former times. Be-
 “ sides, though we should set aside the Merit of
 “ the Action we have mentioned, we are yet
 “ more worthy of that Station than the Athe-
 “ nians, on account of the many prosperous
 “ Successes we have had, in conjunction with
 “ your Forces, as well as with others. For
 “ these Reasons we ought to obtain the second
 “ Post of Honour, and not the Athenians ;
 “ whose Actions, either old or new, are no
 “ way comparable to ours.” To this Speech,
 the Athenians answered, “ We are not igno-
 “ rant, that these Forces were assembled, in or-
 “ der to fight the Barbarian, and not to dispute
 “ about Precedency : Yet the Tegeans having
 “ thought fit to mention the great Actions they
 “ have done, both in antient and latter time,
 “ have put us under a Necessity of shewing you,
 “ that for our Ancestors Merit, and our own,
 “ we ought always to be preferred before the
 “ Arcadians : We alone receiv’d the Heracli-
 “ des, (whose Captain these Men boast to have
 “ kill’d at the Isthmus) after they had been re-
 “ jected by all the Grecians, to whom they ap-
 “ plied themselves for Protection, when they
 “ fled from the Oppression of the Mycenians ;
 “ and joining with them, we punished the In-
 “ solence of *Euristeus*, and defeated the Forces
 “ of those, who were then in possession of *Pelo-*
 “ *ponnesus*. We made war upon the Cadmæans ;
 “ in which, having recovered the Bodies of the
 “ Argians, who were kill’d in the Expedition
 “ of *Polynices* against *Thebes*, and lay unburied,
 “ we interr’d them at *Eleusis*, in our own

" Country : We fought successfully against the
 " Amazons, when arriving from the River *Ther-*
 " *modon*, they invaded *Attica* ; and in the great
 " Actions perform'd during the Trojan War,
 " we were inferior to none. But to what pur-
 " pose should we mention these things ? For
 " perhaps those who were then valiant, may
 " have degenerated ; and those who had little
 " Courage then, may now be brave. There-
 " fore, to say no more of the Actions of our
 " Ancestors, let us see who we are at present :
 " And certainly, though we could produce no
 " other Examples, as we can undoubtedly, as
 " many and as illustrious, as any People of *Greece* ;
 " yet what we did at the Battel of *Marathon*,
 " renders us worthy of this, and greater Ho-
 " nour. For, without the Assistance of the
 " Grecians, we alone undertook that hazardous
 " Enterprize, fought the Persian with our own
 " Forces, and obtain'd a Victory over the
 " Troops of six and forty Nations. This sin-
 " gle Action gives us a just Title to the Rank
 " we claim. But, because the present Con-
 " juncture is altogether improper for such Con-
 " testations, we readily refer the Decision to
 " you, O Lacedemonians, and will take our
 " Station in whatever Order you shall judge most
 " convenient : For wheresoever we are placed,
 " we shall endeavour to do our best. Give Judg-
 " ment therefore in this Affair, and be assured
 " of our ready Compliance." Thus said the
 Athenians ; and immediately the whole Army of
 the Lacedemonians cried out with one Voice,
 that the Athenians were more worthy to be at
 the Head of the other Wing, than the Arcadians.
 So they obtained the Rank they demanded, and
 were

were preferred before the Tegeans. After which, the Grecians, as well those who came at the beginning, as those who arrived afterwards, were drawn up in the following manner: Ten thousand Lacedemonians had the Right, and five thousand of these, being of *Sparta*, were guarded by thirty five thousand Helots, lightly arm'd, every Spartan having seven Helots about his Person: Next to themselves, the Lacedemonians placed the Tegeans, consisting of fifteen hundred Men, partly to do them honour, and partly in consideration of their Valour. After these, five thousand Corinthians; who, by the Permission of *Pausanias*, had three hundred Potideans of *Pallene*, join'd with them: Next in order, stood six hundred Arcadians, of *Orchomenus*, three thousand Træzenians, and two hundred Men from *Leprion*: After these, four hundred Mycenians and Tyrinthians; one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermioneans, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians; four hundred Chalcideans, five hundred Ambracians, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; two hundred Paleans of *Cephalonia*, five hundred from *Ægina*; three thousand Megareans, six hundred Platæans; and last of all, but in a Post of principal Honour, eight thousand Athenians took their Station at the head of the Left, conducted by *Aristides*, the Son of *Lysimachus*. All these, exclusive of the seven Helots attending every Spartan, amounted to thirty eight thousand seven hundred Men; which was the whole number of those who came solidly arm'd to fight the Barbarian. Their Light-arm'd Forces were as follows: Of the Helots belonging to the Spartans, thirty five thousand, all

exercised to War ; and thirty four thousand five hundred Men more, in Light-Arms, attending the rest of the Lacedemonians and other Grecians, one to each Man. So that the Numbers of these light-arm'd Forces, amounting to sixty nine thousand five hundred fighting Men ; the whole Army of the Grecians, assembled at *Platæa*, including both sorts, wanted only one thousand eight hundred, to compleat the Number of a hundred and ten thousand : which yet was made up by the Arrival of the surviving Thespians, tho they came to the Camp without Arms. And in this Order the Grecians encamp'd on the side of the River *Asopus*.

ON the other part, *Mardonius*, with the Barbarians, having perform'd the Obsequies of *Masistius* with great Lamentation, and hearing that the Grecians were in the Territories of the Platæans, marched thither also ; and arriving at the River *Asopus*, drew up his Army in the following manner : Over against the Lacedemonians he placed the Persians ; and because they were far more in number, he extended their Ranks to an equal length with those of the Tegeans, but chose the best Men to face the Lacedemonians, and the worst to oppose the Tegeans : which he did by the Counsel and Information of the Thebans. Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, fronting the Corinthians, the Potidæans, the Orchomenians, and the Sicyonians : After these, he posted the Bactrians, opposite to the Epidaurians, Træzenians, Lepreates, Tyrinthians, Mycenians, and Phliastians. The Indians had the next Station to the Bactrians, over against the Hermioneans, Eretrians, Styrians, and Chalcideans :

cideans : Contiguous to the Indians, *Mardonius* placed the Saces, facing towards the Ambraciens, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetes : But after the Saces, and opposite to the Athenians, Platæans, and Megareans, he rang'd the Bœotians, the Locrians, the Melians, the Thessalians, and the thousand Phoceans I mention'd before ; for only some of the Phoceans were in the Party of the Medes, but others among them favouring the Grecians, retir'd to Mount *Parnassus*, and making Excursions from thence, pillag'd and harassed the Troops of *Mardonius*, and of the Grecians who were in his Army. The Macedonians, with the Forces of the Countries adjoining to *Thessaly*, were added to those who faced the Front of the Athenians. And these are the Names of all the most considerable and illustrious Nations, which *Mardonius* drew up, in order of Battel : Yet they were mixed with Men of other Countries, Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paonians, Ethiopians, and others. They had also among them some Hermorybians and Calasirians of Ægypt, distinguished by the Sword they wore, and singly fit for War of all the Ægyptians. These Men he took out of their Ships, whilst he was at *Phaleron* ; for no Ægyptians were in the Land-Army, which follow'd *Xerxes* in his Expedition against *Athens*. The Barbarian Forces of *Mardonius*, as I have already said, amounted to three hundred thousand Men ; but no one certainly knows how many his Grecian Allies were, because their Number was not taken : Yet, if I may give my Opinion, I guess they might be about fifty thousand. When the Infantry was drawn into

into the Order before mention'd, the Cavalry was placed in separate Stations; and the next day, after the two Armies were thus dispos'd into national and distinct Bodies, they offer'd Sacrifices on both sides. Those of the Grecians were perform'd by *Tisamenus*, the Son of *Antiochus*, an Elean of the Clytidean Family, descended from *Iamus*, who accompany'd the Army in the Quality of Augur, and had been admitted by the Lacedemonians into the Number of their Citizens, in this manner: *Tisamenus* consulting the Oracle of *Delphi* about Children, and being told by the Pythian, that he should obtain five great Victories, mistaking the Sense of her Answer, frequented the Places of publick Exercise, as if he were to be victorious in the Gymnic Contentions; and having inured himself to all the five sorts, appear'd at the Olympian Solemnity, and ran for the Prize against *Hieronymus* the Andrian. But the Lacedemonians conceiving that the Oracle was to be understood of Victories in War, and no other, endeavour'd, by Offers of Money, to persuade *Tisamenus* to assist their Kings, and the Heraclides, in the Direction of military Affairs. When he saw the Spartans so extremely desirous of his Friendship, he set a great Value upon himself, acquainting them, that unless they would make him a Citizen of *Sparta*, with all the Privileges they themselves enjoy'd, he would never give his consent on any other Terms: Which Answer being brought to the Lacedemonians, was at first receiv'd with Scorn, and the Oracle slighted; yet afterwards, falling under great Apprehensions of the Persian Army, they complied, and offer'd him all the Rights

Rights of a Citizen. But *Tisamenus* being inform'd that the Lacedemonians had chang'd their minds, said, he would not now be contented with what he demanded, unless they would also make his Brother *Hegias* a Spartan, with the same Privileges ; imitating, as one may guess, the Example of *Melampus*, who asked a Kingdom, as well as the Privilege of a Citizen. For when the Argians would have hired him to come from *Pylon*, to cure their Women of a Frenzy, with which they were infested, he demanded one half of the Kingdom for his Recompence. The Argians rejected his Proposal, and went away : But many more of their Women falling into the same Distemper, they return'd to him, and offer'd to comply with his Demands. *Melampus* seeing this Change, requir'd yet more, and said, that unless they would give a third Part of their Kingdom to his Brother *Bias*, he would not do as they desir'd ; so that the Argians, reduced to these Streights, granted him whatever he demanded. In like manner, the Lacedemonians, out of a vehement Desire to gain *Tisamenus*, assented to every thing he ask'd ; by which means, of an Elean becoming a Spartan, and accompanying their Forces as Augur, he atcheiv'd, in conjunction with them, five great Enterprizes. These were the only Men the Spartans ever admitted into their Community ; and the five Actions were as follows : In the first place, this of *Platæa* ; the second was against the Tegeans and Argians, in the Territories of *Tegea* ; the third at *Dipæa*, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans ; the fourth against the Messenians at the Isthmus ; and the fifth and last, at *Tanagra*, against

gainst the Athenians and Argians: This *Tisamenus* being then conducted to *Plataea* by the Spartans, and officiating as Prophet to the Grecian Army, acquainted them, that their Sacrifices promised Success, if they would stand upon the defensive; and the contrary, if they should pass the River *Asopus*, and begin the Battel. On the side of *Mardonius* likewise, who was very desirous to attack the Grecians, the Sacrifices were not at all favourable to that purpose, but very promising, if he would stand to receive the Enemy: For he also sacrificed after the manner of the Grecians, and had for his Augur, *Hegestratus* of *Elis*, the most famous of the Telliades. This Man had been formerly taken by the Spartans, and condemned to die, for the many Indignities they had suffered from him: When finding his Condition desperate, his Life in the utmost hazard, and being in expectation of various Tortures before Death, he perform'd an Action beyond belief: For after he was made fast to a Clog plaited with Iron, having by some means or other got a Knife into his possession, he contriv'd the most resolute thing I ever heard: He took the exact measure of as much of his Foot as he could draw out, and then cut off all the rest. When he had done this, he dug a Hole through the Wall, and escaping the Vigilance of his Guards, made towards *Tegea*, travelling by night, and hiding himself by day in the Woods: So that he arriv'd in *Tegea* the third Night, notwithstanding the most diligent Search of the Lacedemonians; who, when they saw half his Foot lying on the ground, and yet could not find his Person, admired the Resolution of the

Man.

Man. Thus *Hegeſistratus* having made his escape, betook himself to the Tegeans, who were at that time in discord with the Lacedemonians; and after he was cured of his Wound, put on a wooden Foot, and declared himself their mortal Enemy. Nevertheless, in the end, his Eunity to the Lacedemonians was fatal to him; for they took him at *Zacynthus*, exercising his Profession of Augur, and put him to death: But this happen'd not till after the Battel of *Plataea*. *Hegeſistratus* therefore being hired with a considerable Sum, accompanied *Mardonius* to the River *Asopus*, and there sacrificed with great Zeal; partly out of hatred to the Lacedemonians, and partly for his own Profit. But as these Sacrifices were not such as might encourage the Persian to attack, no more than those perform'd on the part of the Grecians in his Camp, who had also an Augur named *Hippomachus*, of *Leucadia*; *Timogenides*, the Son of *Herpys*, a Theban, perceiving the Grecian Army incessantly increasing by the Arrival of other Forces, counsel'd *Mardonius* to guard the Passage of Mount *Cytheron*, assuring him, that he might surprize great Numbers of them, as they came in daily. The two Armies had been eight Days encamped, fronting to each other, when *Timogenides* gave this Advice; which *Mardonius* approving, sent some Horse, in the Beginning of the Night, to the Passage of Mount *Cytheron*, that leads to *Plataea*, and is called by the Boeotians, *The three Heads*; but by the Athenians, *The Heads of Oak*. This Cavalry was not sent out in vain; for entring into the Plain, they took five hundred Cattel, carrying Provisions from *Peloponnesus* to the Army,

my, with the Men that attended the Convoy ; and when they had taken this Booty, killed both Man and Beast without distinction : After which Execution, they carried off what they thought fit to preserve, and return'd to the Camp of *Mardonius*. Both Armies passed two Days more, after this Action, without being willing on either side to begin the Battel ; for though the Barbarians advanced to the Bank of the *Asopus*, to irritate the Grecians, yet neither would venture to pass the River. In the mean time, the Cavalry of *Mardonius* making continual Excursions, harassed the Grecian Camp ; and the Thebans being entirely in the Interest of the Medes, perform'd their part with Vigour, leading their Forces as near as possible to the Grecians, that a general Battel might ensue. In these Actions, they were supported by the Persians and Medes, who gave signal Demonstrations of their Valour. Nothing more was done during ten Days ; but on the eleventh Day, after the two Armies had faced each other in the Country of *Plataea*, and the Grecian Forces were considerably augmented, *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobryas*, tired with these Delays, went to confer with *Artabazus*, the Son of *Pharnaces*, a Persian of eminent Reputation with *Xerxes* ; in which Conference they gave their Opinions to this effect : *Artabazus* advis'd, that they should break up with all their Forces, and, without farther delay, march to the Walls of *Thebes* ; where they should find plenty of Provisions for themselves, with Forage for their Horses ; and that being encamped there, they might accomplish their Enterprize at leisure, if his Advice was follow'd : For, having a great quantity

quantity of Gold, coin'd and uncoin'd, with much Silver and wrought Plate, if they would not be sparing of these Treasures, but send them to the Grecians, especially to those of principal Authority in each Nation, they should undoubtedly prevail with them to betray the common Liberty, without hazarding the Event of a Battel. The Thebans were of the same Sentiment with *Artabazus*, as thinking him a Person of greater Foresight than the other. But the Opinion of *Mardonius* was more bold, inconsiderate, and pertinacious : He said, that conceiving his Army to be better than that of the Grecians, he was for fighting immediately, not for looking on idly, till farther Supplies should join their Forces ; and that they ought not to heed the Sacrifices of *Hegestratus*, but resolve to fight, according to the manner of the Persians. *Mardonius* having delivered his Opinion in these Terms, was not contradicted ; and his Sentiment prevail'd, because the King had given the Command of the Army to him, and not to *Artabazus*. Then calling together the Commanders of his Forces, and the Grecian Generals who were in his Camp, he asked if they had heard of any Oracles that threaten'd the Persians with Destruction in *Greece* : but they gave him no Answer ; because as some of the Assembly knew nothing of the Predictions, so others were afraid to speak what they knew : Which *Mardonius* perceiving, said,

“ Since you either know nothing, or dare not speak, I shall tell you what I know perfectly well. There is an Oracle importing, that the Persians arriving in *Greece*, shall plunder the Temple of *Delphi*, and be all de-

“ stroy’d after that Fact : Therefore being appris’d of this Prediction, we will neither pillage that Temple, nor go to that Place ; and thus we shall preserve ourselves from being destroy’d on that account. Let every one then, who wishes well to the Persians, rejoice, and be assur’d that we shall conquer the Grecians.” Having finished these Words, he required them to dispose all things in order to a Battel, and prepare to fight early the next Morning. Nevertheless, I certainly know, that the Oracle pretended by *Mardonius* to have been pronounced against the Persians, was really delivered to the Illyrians, and to the Forces of the Enchelians, and no way concern’d the Persians. But the Prediction of *Bacis*, relating to this Battel, was in these Terms :

*In verdant Plains, which far extended lie
On the Asopus, and the Thermodon,
The Grecians shall against Barbarians fight,
And Medes in numerous Crouds their Fate shall meet.*

Besides this Oracle of *Bacis*, I have heard of others of a like Tenour, denounced by *Musæus*, against the Persians : As for the *Thermodon*, that River runs between the Cities of *Tanagra* and *Glisas*.

AFTER *Mardonius* had made inquiry touching the Oracles, and encourag’d his Men, Night came on, and the Guards were placed : But when the Night was so far spent, that all things seem’d quiet in the Camp, and the Army in profound Sleep, *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas*, King and General of the Macedonians, mounting

mounting on horseback, advanced to the Athenian Guard, and desir'd to speak with their principal Leaders. The greater part of the Guard continu'd in their Station, while some hasten'd to the Generals, and acquainted them, that a certain Person on horseback, arriving from the Army of the Medes, demanded to speak with them; and having repeated their Names, discovered no more of his Business. When the Generals had receiv'd this Information, they went immediately to the Guard; and were no sooner arriv'd, than *Alexander* began thus: . “ I come to deposit a Secret with you, “ O Athenians, on condition you will conceal “ it from all Men, except only *Pausanias*, lest “ you should ruin me. I would not make this “ discovery to you, if I were not extremely “ concern'd for the Safety of *Greece*, and, be- “ ing myself of Grecian Original, were not “ very unwilling to see the Liberty of *Greece* op- “ pressed. Know then, that *Mardonius* would “ have fought long before this time, if the Sa- “ crifices offer'd for him and his Army had “ been found favourable: but now, he has ta- “ ken a resolution to have no regard to the Sa- “ crifices, and to attack you at break of day; “ fearing, as I conjecture, that more Forces “ may come in to your Succour. Be therefore “ in a readiness to receive him. But if *Mardo-“ nius* should defer the Execution of his Pur- “ pose, and not come to a Battel, continue in “ your Camp; for his Provisions are not suffi- “ cient to last many Days. And if this War “ terminates happily on your side, some of you “ ought to remember me; who, for the sake “ of the Grecians, and out of a desire to preserve

“ their Liberty, have voluntarily undertaken so
“ dangerous an Enterprize, and acquainted you
“ with the Intention of *Mardonius*, to the end
“ that the Barbarians may not surprize you,
“ and fall upon your Forces, before you are
“ prepar’d to receive them. I am *Alexander* the
“ *Macedonian*.” Having finished these Words,
he return’d to his Station in the Camp. And
the Athenian Captains went to the head of the
Right ; where, after they had told *Pausanias*
all that they had heard from *Alexander*, he be-
gan to be afraid of the Persians, and said,
“ Seeing the two Armies are about to engage,
“ when the Day appears, you, O Athenians,
“ ought in reason to be placed opposite to the
“ Persians, and we against the Boeotians and
“ Grecians, who are now drawn up against
“ your Forces ; because you know the Medes,
“ and their manner of fighting, having fought
“ with them already at *Marathon* ; whereas, we
“ are so utterly unacquainted with those Men,
“ that none of us Spartans have ever been en-
“ gag’d in any Action against their Troops :
“ but the Boeotians and the Thessalians we ex-
“ perimentally know. For this reason we
“ would have you march with your Arms into
“ our Post, and we will take the Left.” To
this Proposal, the Athenians answered ; “ From
“ the time we first saw the Persians drawn up
“ against you, we were inclin’d to mention the
“ Expedient you now propose to us, and only
“ refrain’d, out of apprehension that our Ad-
“ vice might not be well receiv’d ; but seeing
“ you are pleas’d to make the Offer, we are
“ ready to do as you desire.” Thus having
voluntarily taken this Resolution on both sides,
they

they chang'd their Stations; which the Boeotians observing upon the first Appearance of Light, gave notice to *Mardonius* of what they had done; and when he had heard their Report, he presently made a motion to change his Post, and to place the Persians against the Front of the Lacedemonians again. But *Pausanias* perceiving he was discover'd, return'd with the Spartans to the Right of the Line; and *Mardonius* in like manner to the Left. When both sides had resum'd their former Stations, *Mardonius* sent a Herald to the Spartans with the following Message: " You, O Lacedemonians, are reported to be the best Soldiers of all the People in these Parts, and formidable to the rest, as Men who never abandon the Field of Battel, nor quit your Ranks, but continue firm, till either you have destroy'd your Enemies, or die upon the Place. Yet none of these things are true: For even before you come to engage, and to try the Fortune of War, we see you fly, and abandon your Station, obliging the Athenians, at their peril, to make the first Trial of our Valour, and placing yourselves against the Front of our Servants, which is not the part of brave Men. We were much deceiv'd, when we expected, that to sustain your Reputation, you would have sent a Herald, to bid us defiance, and to let us know, that relying on the Goodness of your Forces, you had determin'd to fight singly against the Persians. We find nothing of this sort in you, but rather manifest Signs of Fear. Now therefore, seeing you have declin'd to challenge us, we shall begin with you, and ask,

“ why you, who are thought the best of the
“ Grecian Forces, and we, who have the same
“ Esteem among the Barbarians, may not ter-
“ minate this Dispute with equal Numbers :
“ If you think the rest ought also to fight, let
“ them engage afterwards ; but if you are of
“ another opinion, and judge that unnecessary,
“ let us fight alone : and let that side which
“ shall obtain the Victory, be accounted victo-
“ rious of the whole Army.” After the He-
rald had thus spoken, and staid some time with-
out receiving any Answer, he return’d to *Mardonius*, and gave him an account of his Com-
mission. Upon which, *Mardonius* being above
measure joyful, and proud of an imaginary Vic-
tory, gave order to insult the Grecians with his
Horse ; who, by the Showers of Arrows and
Darts they pour’d in among them with great dex-
terity, put all their Camp into disorder, and
choak’d the Fountain of *Gargaphia*, which sup-
plied the Army with Water. This Spring was
in the Quarter of the Lacedemonians, and more
or less distant from the rest of the Grecians, as
their Stations were appointed. The *Asopus* was
near at hand indeed, but they were hindred by
the Enemies Cavalry from approaching that Ri-
ver, and constrain’d to water at the Gargaphian
Spring only. In this Condition of things, desti-
tute of Water for the Army, and put into great
confusion by the Barbarian Horse, the Grecian
Generals went together to the right Wing, in
order to deliberate about these, and other Af-
fairs. For though their Circumstances were bad
in these Particulars, yet they were in much
greater perplexity for want of Provisions ; which
they could not receive from *Peloponnesus*, because
the

the Enemies Cavalry being Masters of the Passages, hindred the Servants they had sent thither, from returning with Convoys to the Camp. In this Assembly the Captains resolv'd, if the Persians should defer their Attack all that day, to remove with the Army into an Island, ten Stades distant from the River *Asopus*, and the Spring of *Gargaphia*, where they were then encamped. This Island lies opposite to the City of *Platæa*, and is in some measure join'd to the Continent: For the River, descending from Mount *Cytheron*, and running into the Plain, divides its Streams for the space of about three Stades, and then rejoining, forms an Island, which is called by the Name of *Oeroe*; who, as the Inhabitants say, was the Daughter of *Asopus*. Into this Place the Grecians determining to remove, that they might have a sufficient Supply of Water, and be no longer infested by the Enemies Horse, agreed to decamp in the Night, at the time of placing the second Watch, lest, as they quitted their Camp, they should be discovered, and disturb'd by the Persian Cavalry in their March. They also resolv'd, that when they should arrive where the *Asopian Oeroe* is encompassed by the Waters which descend from *Cytheron*, they would detach one half of their Forces to that Mountain, in order to bring in a Convoy of Provisions, which had stopped there for fear of the Enemy. Having taken these Resolutions, they continued all that day in their Camp, and suffer'd much by the Horse: But in the Evening the Enemy retir'd; and when the Hour of Night was come, in which they had agreed to decamp, the greater part took up their Arms, and marched away

without any Intention of going to the Place appointed: Whilst others, upon their breaking up, being desirous to avoid the Enemies Cavalry, made towards *Platæa*; and arriving at the Temple of *Juno*, which stands before the City, twenty Stades distant from the Spring of *Gargaphia*, grounded their Arms, and encamped there. *Pausanias* having seen these Forces file off out of the Camp, and supposing they were marching to the Rendezvous, order'd the Lacedemonians to take up their Arms, and follow. All the rest of the Leaders were ready to obey, when *Amompharetes*, the Son of *Poliades*, Captain of the Pitanean Division, protested he would not fly from the Barbarians, nor willingly bring a Disgrace upon *Sparta*; and was the more astonished at what he saw, because he had not been present in the Council, where this Resolution was taken. *Pausanias* and *Euryanax*, not a little disturb'd at his Refusal, and more deeply concern'd to leave the Pitanean Cohort behind them, lest by executing the Measures they had concerted with the rest of the Grecians, *Amompharetes*, and all those who were under his Conduct, should be cut in pieces, suspended the Departure of the Spartans, and endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Purpose. But whilst they were exhorting *Amompharetes*, that he alone of all the Lacedemonians and Tegcans would not suffer himself to be left in the Camp, the Athenians well knowing the Genius of the Spartans, and that they are accustom'd to say one thing and mean another, continued in their Station, contenting themselves, when they saw the Army begin to move, to send a Horseman to see, if indeed the Lacedemonians

cedemonians intended to decamp, or had absolutely resolv'd to stay; and in that case, to enquire of *Pausanias* what was fit to be done. This Messenger arriving, found the Lacedemonians drawn up in their Post, and their principal Leaders engag'd in a warm Debate: For though *Euryanax* and *Pausanias* had endeavour'd to persuade *Amompharetus*, not to bring the Lacedemonians into the danger of continuing singly in the Camp, yet, having not been able to prevail with him, they were fallen into an open Contestation, when the Athenian Messenger arriv'd. In this Dispute, *Amompharetus* taking up a Stone with both his Hands, and laying it down at the Feet of *Pausanias*, said, "There is my Vote, to testify that we ought not to fly from the Strangers :" meaning the Barbarians. But *Pausanias* telling him he was distracted, and not in his right Senses, turn'd to the Messenger, and in answer to the Questions he was instructed to ask, bid him report the present Condition of their Affairs to the Athenians, and their earnest Desire, that they would join in one common Resolution, and act in relation to their Departure, as the Lacedemonians should do. With this Answer the Messenger return'd to the Athenians, and the Dispute continued till the Morning; when *Pausanias* having staid to that time, and supposing, as indeed happen'd, that *Amompharetus* would not be left behind, gave the Signal, and marched away by the Hills, with the rest of the Lacedemonians, and the Tegeans. On the other hand, the Athenians marched in order of Battel, by the Way of the Plain; because the Spartans apprehending the Enemies Horse, kept close to the

the higher Ground, about the Foot of the Mountain *Cytheron*. But when *Amompharetus* saw that *Pausanias*, with the rest, had actually left the Camp, he thought they had deserted him on purpose, and taking up his Arms, led his Men slowly after the main Body : Which nevertheless, after a March of about ten Stades, halted at the River *Molois*, in the Plain of *Argiopis*, (where a Temple stands dedicated to the Eleusian *Ceres*) in order to wait his coming up, or else to return to his assistance, if he and his Forces should persist in their Resolution, not to leave their Station. However, at length *Amompharetus* join'd the rest of the Army, and the Barbarian Horse went to attack the Camp, as they were accustom'd to do : But finding no Man in the Place, where the Enemy had encamped, they pursued without delay, and overtaking the Grecians, incommoded them in their March.

WHEN *Mardonius* was inform'd that the Grecians were retir'd by night, he view'd the abandon'd Camp ; and having sent for *Therax*, of *Larissa*, with his Brother *Eurypilus* and *Thrasydius*, he spoke to them in these Terms : “ What will you say now, O Aleuadians, to the things you see ? You, who being Neighbours to the Lacedemonians, affirm'd, they were the most warlike of all People, and that they would never quit the Field of Battel. These Men you saw, first shifting their Station, and now we all know, they fled away last night, because they found they were to engage against those Forces, which are deservedly esteem'd the most valiant in the World ; demonstrating by these Actions, that having no real Worth in

“ in themselves, they made only a vain Ostentation of their Bravery among the Grecians, who have no more Valour than they. I readily forgave you, when you extolled the Spartans, because you knew something of their Actions, and were altogether unacquainted with the Persians ; but I wondered more at *Artabazus*, who was in so great fear of the Lacedemonians, that he basely advised us, as a thing expedient, to break up with our Army, and retire to *Thebes*, in expectation of a Siege, which the King shall know from me, though of that I shall say more another time. At present, seeing the Grecians have shewn so little Courage, we ought not to suffer them to escape out of our hands ; but by a speedy Pursuit make them bear the Penalty of all the Mischiefs they have done to the Persians.” Having finish’d these words, he put himself at the head of the Persians, and passing the *Asopus* with precipitation, pursued the Grecians, as if they had betaken themselves to flight ; but overtook only the Lacedemonians and the Tegeans, not perceiving the Athenian Forces, who, turning short, had pass’d from the Hills into the Plain. When the other Commanders of the Barbarian Troops saw the Persians advancing in pursuit of the Grecians, they also took up their Standards, and hastened after them, without observing either Rank or Order, crowding together in multitudes, and making a hideous Noise, as if they had been sure of tearing the Grecians in pieces. *Pausanias*, in the mean time, finding himself prettled by the Enemies Cavalry, dispatched a Messenger on horseback to the Athenians,

nians, with this Message : " Men of *Athens*, in
 " the great Question before us, whether *Greece*
 " shall be enslaved, or continue free, our Al-
 " lies have betrayed both you and the Lacede-
 " monians, and fled away during the last night.
 " What remains now to be done, is, to defend
 " ourselves in the best manner we can, and to
 " succour each other. Had the Enemies Horse
 " attacked you first, we, and the Tegeans who
 " are with us, and have not betray'd the com-
 " mon Cause, ought to have assisted you : But
 " seeing all their Cavalry is fallen upon us, you
 " are obliged in justice to come to the Succour
 " of that part which is most hardly pressed. If
 " any insuperable Impediment should hinder
 " you from coming to our Relief, we promise
 " ourselves, from the great Zeal you have
 " shewn for carrying on the present War, that
 " you will not refuse to send us some of your
 " Men armed with pointed Weapons." The
 Athenians no sooner heard these words, than
 they prepared to succour the Lacedemonians to
 the utmost of their power; but as they were
 actually marching with that Design, they were
 attacked, and to their great regret prevented,
 by those Grecians who slied with the Persian,
 and had been drawn up opposite to the Athe-
 nians. The Lacedemonians and the Tegeans
 being thus deprived of Assistance, and necessi-
 tated to engage alone against *Mardonius* and the
 Forces with him, began to offer their usual Sa-
 crifices : The former, including the light-
 armed Men, amounted to the number of fifty
 thousand ; and the Tegeans, who had never
 parted from the Lacedemonians, to three thou-
 sand. During these Sacrifices, which were not

at all favourable, they had many Men killed, and more wounded, by the great number of pointed Arms which the Persians let fly among them, whilst they themselves stood covered with their Bucklers. When *Pausanias* saw the Spartans so terribly galled, and their Sacrifices disturbed, turning his Eyes towards the Temple of *Juno* in *Platæa*, he prayed the Goddess, that his Hopes might not be frustrated; and before he had finished these words, the Tegeans began to advance against the Barbarians. Immediately after the Prayer of *Pausanias*, the Lacedemonians sacrificed happily, and in a little time marched out likewise against the Persians; who laying aside their Bows and Darts, stood firm, and maintained a long and obstinate Fight near the Temple of *Ceres*, till both sides came to close: For the Barbarians venturing to lay hold of the Enemies Lances, broke them in pieces. And indeed in Courage and Strength the Persians were not inferior to the Grecians; but they were ill-armed, ignorant of military Discipline, and no way comparable to their Adversaries in prudent Management: So that whether one, or ten, or more, or less, fell in among the Lacedemonians, they were certainly destroyed, because they observed no manner of Order. Nevertheless, in that part where *Mardonius*, mounted on a white Horse, fought at the head of a thousand Men, the best among the Persians, there the Grecians were attacked with most Vigour: For as long as he continued alive, the Persians made a strenuous Defence, and killed many of the Spartans; but when *Mardonius* fell, and the chosen Troops about him were defeated, the rest turned their backs,

backs, and fled before the Lacedemonians, being much embarrassed with their Garments, and fighting naked against armed Men. Here the Death of *Leonidas* was revenged by the Spartans upon *Mardonius*, according to the Oracle; and here the most glorious Victory, we ever heard of, was obtained by *Pausanias*, the Son of *Cleombrotus*, and Grandson to *Anaxandrides*, whose Ancestors I mentioned before in the Genealogy of *Leonidas*, for they were the same. *Mardonius* died by the hand of *Aimnestus*, a considerable Spartan, who, some time after this Persian War, was killed at *Stenyclerus*, with three hundred Lacedemonians, fighting against all the Forces of the Messenians. The Persians thus put to the Rout by the Spartans in the Territories of *Platæa*, fled in confusion to their Camp, which they had fortified with a Wall of Wood in the Plains of *Thebes*. But I am surpriz'd, that seeing the Battel was fought near the Grove of *Ceres*, not one of the Barbarians was seen to enter into the Temple, nor to die in any part of the sacred Ground, tho' great numbers fell in other Places; and if a Man may be permitted to form a Conjecture concerning divine things, I imagine the Goddess would not receive them, after they had burnt her Royal Temple at *Eleusis*. Such was the Event of this Battel.

IN the mean time *Artabazus*, the Son of *Pharnaces*, who from the beginning had disapproved the King's assenting to leave *Mardonius* in *Greece*, and who, by all the Reasons he could alledge, was not able to prevail with him to forbear fighting, thought fit to act in this manner: Being displeased at the Conduct of *Mardonius*,

nius, and rightly judging what the Issue would be, he gave Orders, during the Battel, for all the Forces he commanded, consisting of forty thousand Men, to follow him wheresoever he should lead them, with the same diligence they should see him make: And after he had given these Instructions, advancing with his Men, as if he designed to charge the Enemy, he discovered the Persians flying. Upon which, continuing no longer to lead his Forces in an orderly manner, he presently betook himself to flight; not towards the Walls of Wood, nor the City of Thebes, but into the Territories of the Phocceans, with intention to reach the *Hellespont* as soon as he could.

IN this Battel, while the rest of the Grecians in the King's Army behaved themselves ill on purpose, the Boeotians maintained an obstinate Fight against the Athenians. In particular the Thebans, who favoured the Medes, and would not remit of their utmost Efforts, fought with such Ardent, that three hundred of the principal and most valiant were killed by the Athenians upon the Place: And the rest, after they were broken and put to flight, would not follow the Persians, nor the vast multitude of their Associates, who either fought not at all, or performed nothing considerable, but retired to *Thebes*. The Barbarians appear to me to have been totally influenced by the Conduct of the Persians on this occasion: For when they saw the Persians flying, they abandoned the Field, even without striking a Blow, and by their example at length betook themselves all to flight, except some of the Horse, consisting of Boeotians and others. Yet these, in their Retreat,

Retreat, being nearest to the Enemy, were of some advantage to those that fled, by defending their Friends from the Grecians; who vigorously pursuing their Victory, pressed hard upon the broken Forces of *Xerxes*, and made a great Slaughter among them. During this Pursuit, a Message was brought to those Grecians who had absented themselves from the Battel, and retired to the Temple of *Juno*, that the Armies had engaged, and that the Grecians with *Pausanias* were victorious. Upon which News they hastened back, without observing any kind of Order; the Corinthians by the way of the Hills, that leads directly to the Temple of *Ceres*; and the Megareans, with the Phlians, by the Plain: But the Theban Cavalry, commanded by *Astyagorus*, the Son of *Timander*, seeing the Megareans and Phlians approaching in so disorderly a manner, pushed on their Horses immediately, and falling upon them, killed six hundred on the spot, and drove the rest to the Mountain *Cytheron*. Thus these Men fell without honour.

THE Persians and the rest of the Multitude arriving within their Intrenchments, mounted the Towers before the coming of the Lacedemonians, and improved their Works in the best manner they could: So that when the Lacedemonians arrived, they found a vigorous Resistance from the Walls; and indeed so long as the Athenians were absent, the Barbarians not only defended themselves, but were too hard for the Lacedemonians, who knew not how to attack a Fortification: But upon the Arrival of the Athenians, the Action grew hotter on both sides, and continued for a long time;

time ; till, in the end, by their Valour and Constancy, the Athenians mounted the Walls, and opened a Passage to the rest of the Grecians. The first that entered by the Breach were the Tegeans, who plundered the Tent of *Mardonius*, and, among other things, took away a Manger for Horses, all of solid Brass, and admirably wrought ; which they afterwards placed in the Temple of the Alean *Minerva* ; But the rest of their Booty they brought to the common Heap, and deposited with that taken by the other Grecians. The Barbarians, after the forcing of their Intrenchment, rallied no more, nor thought of defending themselves ; but terrified to see their Troops, consisting of so many Myriads, intercepted within a small Compass of Ground, fell into the utmost Consternation. By which means they were so easily cut in pieces by the Grecians, that of three hundred thousand Men, not full three thousand escaped the Sword, besides those forty thousand who fled away with *Artabazus*. Of the Lacedemonian Spartans, ninety one were killed in the Battel ; of the Tegeans sixteen, and of the Athenians fifty two. Those among the Barbarians who fought best, were, of the Foot, the Persians ; of the Horse, the Saces ; and of the Generals, *Mardonius*. Of the Grecians, the Tegeans and Athenians acquired great Glory, but the Lacedemonians greater : For though the former beat all the Forces they engaged, yet the Lacedemonians broke and defeated the firmest part of the Enemy's Army. But among all the Lacedemonians, no Man, in my Opinion, gave so great Proofs of Valour as *Aristodemus*, who was before disgraced and disesteemed,

esteemed, because he alone, of the three hundred, had saved himself from the Slaughter of Thermopyle. After him *Posidonius*, *Philocyon*, and *Amompharetus* distinguished themselves among the Spartans; yet when the Question came to be debated, who had behaved himself best, those Spartans, that were present, gave judgment, that *Aristodemus*, resolving to die in the sight of his Countrymen, to wipe off the Blemish of his former Conduct, and to that end breaking his Rank, and advancing beyond his Companions, had performed Actions of great Glory; but that *Posidonius* having no occasion to desire Death, deserved greater Honour for the Valour he shewed on this occasion. Perhaps they gave that Judgment from a Motive of Envy. However, they paid great Honours to all those that died in the Battel, excepting only *Aristodemus*, who was deprived of that Glory, because he had predetermined to lose his Life for the foregoing Reason. These were the Men who acquired the greatest Fame in the Battel of Platæa. For *Callicratides*, the most valiant, not only of the Lacedemonians, but of all others in the Grecian Army, died not in the Action; but standing in his Rank, after *Pausanias* had sacrificed, he received a Wound in the Side by an Arrow; and, as they carried him off, regretting his Fate, he turn'd to *Aimnestus* a Platæan, and told him, that he was not at all discontented to die for *Greece*; but to die before he had fought, or done any thing worthy of himself, and of his Zeal to the common Cause. Of the Athenians, *Sophanes*, the Son of *Eutychides*, a Decelian, is reported to have distinguished himself by his Valour. The Inhabitants of

Decelia,

Decelia, as the Athenians fay, were the Authors of a thing, which has been ever since of advantage to them : For, in antient time, when the Tyndarides, seeking to recover *Helena*, entered the Territories of *Attica* with a numerous Army, and dispossessed the People of their Habitations, not knowing to what Place she was carried ; the Decelians, and, as some fay, *Decelus* himself, disturbed at the Injury done to *Theseus*, and fearing that all the Country of the Athenians might be ravaged, discovered the whole Intrigue, and conducted the Tyndarides to *Aphidna* ; which *Titacus*, a Native of the Place, delivered into their hands. From the time of that Action, even to this day, the Decelians have been always treated with such Distinction and Preference by the Spartans, that in the War, which happened many years after, between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedemonians pillaged the rest of *Attica*, and left *Decelia* untouched. Of that place was *Sophanes*, who distinguished himself above all the Athenians on this occasion ; but two different Accounts are given of him : Some fay, he carried an Anchor of Iron fastened to the Girdle of his Breast-plate with a Chain of Brass, which he fixed before him when he approached the Enemy, to hinder them from forcing him out of his Rank ; and when they were repulsed, taking up his Anchor again, he pursued with the rest. But others, varying from this Account, fay, that he had no Anchor of Iron fastened to his Cuirass, but one engraved on his Shield, which was made to turn round incessantly. *Sophanes* did another signal Action, when the Athenians besieged *Ægina* : For in a single

Combat he killed *Eurybates* of *Argos*, who had been victorious in all the five Olympian Contentions. But some time after the Persian War, commanding the Athenian Forces jointly with *Leagrus* the Son of *Glaucon*, he was killed by the Edonians at *Daton*, fighting for the Mines of Gold, with the same Valour he had shewn on all other Occasions.

WHEN the Barbarians were thus defeated at *Platæa*, a Woman, who had been a Concubine to *Pharandates*, the Son of *Theaspes*, a Persian, hearing of the Disaster of the Persians, and of the Victory obtained by the Grecians, came voluntarily to the Army, magnificently dressed, both she and her Attendants, in Gold and the richest of their Attire; and alighting from her Chariot, went towards the Lacedemonians, who were still employed in the Slaughter of the Enemy; when observing that *Pausanias* had the Direction of all things, and having often heard his Name and his Country, she addressed herself to him, and embracing his Knees, said,

“ King of *Sparta*, deliver me, I beseech you,
 “ from a slavish Captivity. You have already
 “ done me one Favour, in destroying those who
 “ had no regard either to the Demons or to the
 “ Gods. I am of a Coan Family, Daughter
 “ to *Hegetorides*, the Son of *Aniagoras*. The
 “ Persian took me away by force at *Coos*, and
 “ kept me to this time.” “ Woman, answered
 “ *Pausanias*, thou hast nothing to fear, partly
 “ because thou art come as a Suppliant to seek
 “ Protection, and much more if thou hast spo-
 “ ken the Truth, and art indeed the Daugh-
 “ ter of *Hegetorides* the Coan, who is the best
 “ Friend I have in that Country.” Having
 thus

thus spoken, he committed her to the care of the Ephori, who were present, and afterwards sent her to *Ægina*, where she desired to go. Presently after her Departure the Mantineans arrived with their Forces, when all was over; and finding they were come too late to fight, were much disturbed, and said, They were yet worthy in having some part in punishing the Barbarians. Upon which being informed of the flight of *Artabazus* and the Medes, they pursued them into *Thessaly*, against the Opinion of the Lacedemonians; but at their Return home, their Leaders were all banished. After them came the Eleans, and shewing the same Regret, marched back again; but arriving in their own Country, they punished their Captains also with Banishment. Such was the Conduct of the Mantineans, and of the Eleans.

LAMPON, the Son of *Pytheus*, one of the principal Men of *Ægina*, being then at *Platæa*, in the Camp of the *Æginetes*, came in haste to *Pausanias*; and soliciting him to a most detestable Action, said, "Son of *Cleombrotus*, the Enterprize you have atchieved, is, beyond example, great and illustrious; God has enabled you to acquire more Glory, in preserving *Greece* from Servitude, than any either Grecian, we ever heard of, obtained. Yet something remains to be done, in order to render your Name more famous, and to deter all the Barbarians for the future from daring to irritate the Grecians by unjust Attempts. You know that after *Leonidas* was killed at *Thermopyle*, *Mardonius* and *Xerxes* took off his Head, and fixed it on a Pole.

“ If you will punish that Insolence by a just
“ Retaliation, you will be praised, not only
“ by all the Spartans, but by the rest of the
“ Grecians : In a word, if you order *Mardonius* to be empaled, you revenge the Indig-
“ nity done to your Uncle *Leonidas*.” This he
said with a design to please : But *Pausanias* an-
swered, “ Friend of *Ægina*, I thankfully ac-
“ cept your good Meaning and provident
“ Care, but you are far from making a right
“ Judgment ; for after having highly magnified
“ me, my Country, and my Achievement, you
“ throw all down again, by solliciting me to
“ insult the Dead, and telling me I shall in-
“ crease my Fame, if I do that, which is more
“ fit to be done by Barbarians than by Gre-
“ cians; and which we blame even in them.
“ I cannot therefore assent to the *Æginetes*,
“ nor to any other Men who delight in such
“ Actions, contented to please the Spartans,
“ and never to do nor to speak an unbecom-
“ ing thing. As for *Leonidas*, whose Death
“ you exhort me to revenge, I affirm, that, by
“ sacrificing the Lives of such an innumerable
“ Multitude, we have made a magnificent Re-
“ paration to him, and to all those who fell at
“ *Thermopyle*. Come no more then to me with
“ such Discourses, nor venture to give me such
“ Counsel ; and take for a Favour, that you
“ now escape unpunished.” *Lampon* having re-
ceived this Answer, retired ; and *Pausanias*, af-
ter he had caused Proclamation to be made,
that no Man should meddle with the Booty,
commanded the Helots to bring together all
the Riches they could find. Accordingly dis-
persing themselves through the Camp, they
found

found great quantities of Gold and Silver in the Tents ; Couches plated with Gold and Silver ; Bowls, Phials, and other drinking Vessels of Gold, besides boiling Pots of Gold and Silver, which they found lying in Sacks upon the Waggons. They took the Chains, Bracelets, and Scimetars of Gold from the Dead, but left the rich Apparel of various Colours, as things of no value. The Helots purloined much of the Booty, which they sold to the Æginetes, producing only so much as they could not hide ; and this was the first Foundation of the great Wealth of the Æginetes, who purchased Gold from the Helots at the Price of Brass. With the tenth part of this collected Treasure, the Grecians dedicated to the God at *Delphi*, a Tripos of Gold, supported by a three-headed Serpent of Brass, and placed close to the Altar ; to the God at *Olympia*, a Jupiter of Brass ten Cubits high ; and a *Neptune* of Brass of seven Cubits to the God at the Isthmus. When they had taken out this Part, they divided the rest of the Booty, consisting of Gold, Silver, and other Treasure, together with the Concubines of the Persians, and all the Cattel, according to the Merit of each Person. How much was given to those who were reputed to have fought with the greatest Valour in the Battel of *Platæa*, is reported by none ; yet I am of opinion they were considered in a particular manner. But to *Pausanias* they gave the Tenth of all ; Women, Horses, Camels, Talents, and every thing else.

AMONG other things reported to have passed in this Expedition, they say, that when *Xerxes* fled out of *Greece*, he left all his Equipage

to *Mardonius*; and that *Pausanias* seeing such magnificent Furniture of Gold, Silver, and Tapestry of various Colours, commanded the Cooks and Bakers to prepare a Supper for him, as they used to do for *Mardonius*: That when they had so done, in obedience to his Command, and *Pausanias* had viewed the Couches of Gold and Silver, covered with the richest Cushions, the Tables of the same Metals, and the expensive Supper prepared; surprized at the Profusion he saw before him, he ordered his Attendants, with a Smile, to make ready a Lacedemonian Meal: And that after he had observed the vast difference between the two Suppers, sending for the Grecian Generals, and shewing them both the one and the other, he said; “I have called you together, O Grecians, with a design to let you see the Folly of the King of the Medes; who leading such a Life at home, came hither to pillage us, who fare so hardly.” Some time after this Defeat, many of the Platæans found Treasures of Gold and Silver, with other Riches buried under ground; and among the dead Bodies, when the Flesh was consumed from the Bones, which lay together at a certain Place, they discovered a Skull, of one solid Piece, without any Sutures. They found also an upper Jaw, with all the Teeth distinct, but shooting from one single Bone; and the Skeleton of a Man five Cubits high.

THE next day after the Battel, *Mardonius* was not found among the dead, though by what Person his Body was taken away, I never could learn with certainty. But I have heard that many Men, of different Nations, were concerned in giving

giving him burial, and I know that divers had Presents from *Artontes*, the Son of *Mardonius*, on that account: Yet who, among them all, was the Man that carried off, and took care of the Body, I could never discover; whatever Report has been spread abroad, concerning *Dionysiophanes* the Ephesian, as if he had buried *Mardonius*. And thus that Question remains undetermin'd. But the Grecians, after they had parted the Booty in the Fields of *Platæa*, buried their Dead separately: The Lacedemonians made three Graves; in one of which they interred *Pheidonius*, *Amompharetus*, *Phylocion*, and *Callicrates*, who were of the Priesthood: In another they put the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the Helots. The Tegeans buried all their Dead together in one Grave; the Athenians did the same; and so did the Megareans and Phliasians to those of their Forces, who were killed by the Enemies Cavalry. All these Sepulchres were filled with the Bodies of Men; but the rest, which are seen about *Platæa*, were erected, as I am inform'd, by those, who being ashamed of their Absence from the Battel, threw up those Mounds by common Consent, to deceive Posterity. Among these, there is one, bearing the Name of the *Æginetes*; which, I have heard, was erected at their Request, ten Years after this War, by *Cleades*, the Son of *Autodicus*, a Platæan, oblig'd to them by the Tyes of Hospitality.

WHEN the Grecians had buried their Dead in the Territories of *Platæa*, they took a resolution in Council, to lead their Army to *Thebes*, and to demand the Partizans of the Medes, especially *Timegenides* and *Attaginus*, the Ring-leaders

leaders of the Faction ; and not to depart, till they had destroy'd the City, if the Thebans should refuse to surrender them. Having all consented to these Measures, they broke up ; and on the eleventh Day after the Battel, arriving at *Thebes*, demanded the Men : But receiving a denial from the Thebans, they ravag'd the Country, and made approaches to the Walls. On the twentieth Day after these Hostilities began, which the Grecians incessantly continu'd, *Timegenides* spoke thus to the Thebans : “ Men of *Thebes*, seeing the Grecians are resolv'd not to withdraw their Army till either they shall have taken the City, or you deliver us into their hands, we are far from desiring that *Bœotia* should any longer suffer for our sake : If, under the pretext of demanding our Persons, they design to exact a Sum of Money, let us give it by a general Contribution ; for we were not the only Partizans of the Medes, but join'd with them by general Consent : Nevertheless, if they really besiege *Thebes* because they would have us deliver'd up, we are ready to justify our Conduct in their presence.” The Thebans approving his Proposition, as just and seasonable, sent to acquaint *Pausanias*, that they were willing to surrender the Persons he demanded. After this Agreement was made, *Attaginus* made his escape from *Thebes* ; but, in place of him, his Sons were sent out to *Pausanias* ; who discharged them, saying, they were too young to have any part in the Guilt of joining with the Medes. Of those who were deliver'd up by the Thebans, some thought to clear themselves by pleading their Innocence, or else

else to come off by Money ; but *Pausanias* suspecting their Intention, dismiss'd the Confederate Army, and conducting the Prisoners to *Corinth*, put them all to death. Such was the Event of things in the Territories of *Platæa* and of *Thebes*.

IN the mean time, *Artabazus*, the Son of *Pharnaces* continuing his Flight from *Platæa*, arriv'd in the Country of the Thessalians ; who receiving him in a friendly manner, and being altogether ignorant of what had past, asked him News of the rest of the Army. But *Artabazus* considering, that if he should discover the whole Truth, both he and his Forces would be in danger of Destruction, (because he thought every one would fall upon him, when they should be inform'd of the Success of things) had conceal'd all from the Phœceans ; and to the Thessalians spoke thus : “ Men of *Theffaly*, “ you see I am hastening to *Thrace* with the utmost Expedition, being sent with these Forces from the Camp upon a certain Affair. “ *Mardonius* with his Army follows me close, “ and may be suddenly expected. Receive him as a Friend, and do him all the good Offices you can, for you will never have cause to repent of the Proofs you shall give him of your Amity.” Having said this, he broke up with his Army, and marched through *Theffaly* and *Macedonia*, directly towards *Thrace*, with great precipitation, and by the shortest Ways of the midland Country, as indeed his Affairs had called him to those Parts. But arriving at *Byzantium*, after he had left many of his Men by the way, who were part killed by the Thracians, and part consumed by Hunger and Fatigue,

igue, he went on board the Ships, and return'd into *Asia*.

THE same Day on which the Persians were defeated at *Platæa*, they receiv'd another Blow at *Mycale* in *Ionia*, by this means. Whilst the Grecians, under the Conduct of *Leutychides*, the Lacedemonian, continued with their Ships at *Delos*, *Lampon*, the Son of *Thrasycleus*, *Athenagoras*, the Son of *Archestratides*, and *Hegestratus*, the Son of *Aristagoras*, arriy'd there from *Samos*; being sent thither privately with a Message by the Samians, who had taken care to conceal their Intentions, both from the Persians, and from the Tyrant *Theomestor*, the Son of *Androdamas*, impos'd upon them by the Barbarians. These Ambassadors, upon their Arrival, went to the Generals; and *Hegestratus*, among many other things, said, that the Ionians would not fail to revolt from the Persians, so soon as they should see the Grecian Fleet, and that the Barbarians would never stand an Engagement; or if they should, the Booty would be greater than could be found in any other Place. He adjur'd them by the Gods they worship'd in common, that they would deliver the Grecians from Servitude, and repel the Barbarians; which he affirm'd was easy to be done, because their Ships were sluggish, and no way comparable in fight to those of *Greece*: He added, that if they suspected any Fraud to lie conceal'd under this Invitation, they were ready to go on board with them, and to remain in the Ships, as Hostages of their Sincerity. But as he continued his Sollicitations with much earnestness, *Leutychides* resolving to ask his Name, either as a thing he accounted ominous, or perhaps by a

divine

divine Impulse, put the question to him accordingly ; and no sooner heard that he was called * *Hegeſistratus*, than interrupting the rest of his Discourse, if indeed he intended any ; “ Samian Friend, *said he*, I accept the Presage of thy Name ; and therefore, in order to fail, let us have thy solemn Promise, and the Faith of those with thee, that the Samians shall readily assist us.” When he had said this, he proceeded to finish the Work ; and the Samians having on their part given their Promise and Oath, with great Readiness, to be the Confederates of the Grecians, set sail to return home ; except only *Hegeſistratus*, whose Name *Leutychides* taking for a Presage of Good-Fortune, ordered him to accompany them in the Expedition. The Grecians continued in their Station that day, and on the next sacrificed auspiciously, by the hands of the Augur *Deiphonus*, a Native of *Apollonia*, in the Gulph of *Ionia*, and Son to *Euenus*, of whom the following account is given. In the Territories of *Apollonia*, a Flock of Sheep, sacred to the Sun, feed by day on the Banks of a River, which descending from the Mountain *Lacmon*, runs thro that Country into the Sea, at the Port of *Oricus* ; but by night, they are folded in a Cave, far distant from the City, and guarded by Men chosen annually to that end, out of the most eminent among the Citizens for Birth and Riches ; because the People of *Apollonia* set a high Value upon these Sheep, pursuant to the Admonition of an Oracle. *Euenus* being chosen Keeper of this Flock, neglecting his Charge, fell asleep, and in the mean time, Wolves en-

* The Word signifies Leader of an Army.

tring the Cave, destroy'd about sixty of the Sheep. When he awak'd, and saw what was done, he said nothing to any Man, thinking to purchase the like number, and to put them among the rest. But the Apollonians being soon inform'd of the thing, caused him to appear without delay before the Court of Justice, and sentenced him to lose his Eyes, for sleeping when he ought to have watched. Nevertheless, after they had thus punish'd *Euenus* with Blindness, the Sheep brought no more Lambs, nor the Earth her usual Increase, as the Oracles of *Dodona* and *Delphi* had predicted : And when they applied themselves to the Prophets, to know the Cause of the present Calamities, they told them, that they had unjustly put out the Eyes of *Euenus*, the Keeper of the sacred Sheep : That they themselves had sent in the Wolves, and would not discontinue their Vengeance, till the Apollonians should make him full Satisfaction, and such Amends for the Injury he had receiv'd, as he himself should chuse, and judge sufficient ; after which, they would make so valuable a Present to *Euenus*, that the greater part of Men should think him happy. These Predictions the Apollonians kept secret, and appointed some of their Citizens to act in conformity to their Intentions ; which they did in this manner : Having found *Euenus* sitting on a Chair, they sat down by him ; and, after other Discourse, expressed their Sorrow for his Affliction, taking occasion from thence, to ask him what Reparation he would chuse, if the Apollonians were disposed to give him Satisfaction. *Euenus*, who had not heard of the Oracle, said, if they would give him the Lands of Inheritance, belonging to two Citizens he named, and which

he knew to be the best of that Country, and would moreover add to that Gift the most magnificent House of the City, he would be reconciled to them, and contented with that Satisfaction. Those who sat by him immediately taking hold of his Answer, *Euenus*, said they, the Apollonians offer you the Reparation you demand for the loss of your Eyes, in obedience to an Oracle they have received: Which when *Euenus* heard, he was not a little mortified, to find himself deceived by this Artifice. However, the Apollonians having first satisfied the Possessors, made him a Present of the Lands he demanded, and in a short time he obtained the Spirit of Divination, and acquired a considerable Name. *Deiphonus* was the Son of this *Euenus*, and officiated as Augur in the Army, being conducted thither by the Corinthians: yet I have formerly heard, that he was not really the Son of *Euenus*, but had been under some Disgrace in *Greece* for assuming that Quality.

THE Grecians having sacrificed favourably, departed from *Delos* with their Fleet, standing towards *Samos*; and arriving before *Calamisus*, belonging to the Samians, came to an Anchor near the Temple of *Juno*, and made all things ready for an Engagement. But the Persians being informed of their Approach, and having determined not to hazard a Sea-fight, because they thought themselves inferior in Force to the Grecians, permitted the Phœnicians to return home, and with all the rest of their Ships made towards the Shore of the Continent. This they did, that they might betake themselves to the Protection of their Land-Forces, which were encamped at *Mycale*, to the number

ber of sixty thousand Men; having been left for a Guard to *Ionia*, by the order of *Xerxes*, under the Conduct of *Tigranes*, a Man surpassing all the Persians in good Mien and Stature. To that Army the Sea-Commanders resolved to fly for Protection, to draw their Ships to the Shore, and to throw up an Intrenchment quite round, which might serve for a Defence to the Fleet, and for a Place of Refuge to themselves. Having taken this Resolution, they brought off their Ships, and anchored near the Temple of the Potnians in *Mycale*, at *Geson*, and at *Scolopis*, where a Temple stands dedicated to *Ceres of Eleufis*, built by *Philistus*, the Son of *Pasicles*, who accompanied *Neleus*, the Son of *Codrus*, when he founded *Miletus*. There, having drawn the Ships ashore, they encompassed them with a Circumvallation of Timber and Stone, strengthened quite round with Palisadoes made of Fruit-Trees, which they cut down in the place, preparing themselves deliberately both to sustain a Siege, and to come off victorious. When the Grecians understood that the Barbarians were retired to the Continent, vexed that the Enemy had thus escaped, they began to doubt what course to take, and whether they should return home, or proceed to the *Hellespont*: But at length laying aside the Thoughts of both these, they determined to make to the Continent; and having prepared Ladders for boarding, and all other things necessary for fighting at Sea, they sailed to *Mycale*. When they arrived near the Camp, they saw no Enemy in a readiness to meet them; but all their Ships drawn within the Circumvallation, and a numerous Army disposed along the Coast.

Upon

Upon which, *Leutychides* advancing before the rest, and standing in to the Shore as near as he could, ordered a Herald to speak thus to the Ionians, in his Name: “Men of *Ionia*, all those among you, who hear me, hearken with Attention to my words; for the Persians will understand nothing of the Advice I give you. When the Battel begins, every one of you ought, in the first place, to remember *Liberty*; and next, that the word agreed upon, is *Hebe*: If any of you hear me not, let those who hear inform him.” In doing this, his meaning was the same as that of *Themistocles* at *Artemisium*; for he expected that if these words were concealed from the Barbarians, the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt, or be brought under suspicion, if they should be reported to them. When *Leutychides* had given the Ionians this Admonition, the Grecians, in the next place, putting to shore, landed their Men, and drew up in Order of Battel: Which when the Persians saw, and were informed of the Exhortation they had made to the Ionians, they disarmed the Samians, fearing they were more particularly disposed to favour the Enemy; because they had already redeemed all the Athenians taken in *Attica* by the Forces of *Xerxes*, brought them to *Samos* in the Barbarian Ships, and sent them back to *Athens*, furnished with Provisions for their Voyage; by which means they had set at liberty five hundred Men of the Enemies of *Xerxes*. Having done this, they committed the care of guarding the Passes, that lead to the Eminencies of *Mycale*, to the Milesians, as knowing they were well acquainted with the Country, and intending, under that

colour, to remove them from the Army. When they had taken these Precautions, to make sure of those among the Ionians, who seemed most like to endeavour a Change, if they could come at the power, they joined their Bucklers together, in order to their Defence. On the other part the Grecians, after they had prepared all things for a Battel, advanced towards the Barbarians ; when, at the same time, a Herald's Staff was seen lying upon the Shore, and a sudden Rumour spread through the Army, that the Grecians had defeated the Forces of *Mardonius* in the Territories of *Bœotia*. In this the Direction of a Divine Power was manifest in many respects ; for though the Blow already given at *Platæa*, and that now ready to be given at *Mycale*, happened both on the same day, the News thus reaching the Grecians, inspired their Army with a greater Resolution, and a more vigorous Boldness, to meet the present Danger. Besides, in each of these Places, which is farther remarkable, there stood a Temple, dedicated to *Ceres* of *Eleusis*, by the Field of Battel : For at *Platæa*, as I have already said, they fought near the Temple of *Ceres*, and were now about to fight again in *Mycale*, near another belonging to the same Goddess : So that the Rumour of the Victory obtained by the Grecians, under the Conduct of *Pausanias*, came rightly to *Mycale*, because the Battel of *Platæa* was fought in the Morning, and this of *Mycale* in the Evening : But that both were fought on the same Day of the same Month, they plainly understood in a little time by mutual Information. Before they heard the Fame of the Victory of *Platæa*, they had been in great pain,

not

not so much for themselves, as for the Safety of *Greece*, fearing lest *Mardonius* should defeat the Grecian Army: But after they had that Rumour among them, they advanced towards the Enemy with greater Readiness and Alacrity: And thus both the Grecians and Barbarians hastened to begin the Fight, being equally persuaded that the Islands and the *Hellefpon* must be the Recompence of the Victorious. The Athenians, with those who were drawn up in that part of the Army which they led, advanced through the Plains, and along the Shore; but the Lacedemonians, with those who were in the other part with them, marched through the broken Ways among the Hills: So that whilst the Lacedemonians were obliged to take a wider Compass, those of the other Line were already engaged with the Enemy. The Persians, so long as they were covered by their Bucklers, defended themselves strenuously, and maintained their Ground. But when the Athenians and the rest, to the end that they, and not the Lacedemonians, might have the honour of the Action, had mutually encouraged one another, they soon changed the face of Affairs, struck down the Shields of the Enemy, and in close order broke in among the Persians. At first they were received with Vigour; but after the Persians had continued to defend themselves, during a considerable time, they fled to their Intrenchments; and the Athenians, with the Forces which were drawn up next to them, consisting of the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Trœzenians, pursued them so close, that they entered their Camp at the same time. When the Barbarians saw their Intrenchments

D d 2 forced,

forced; they thought no longer of resisting, but betook themselves all to flight, except the Persians; who, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the Entrance of their Camp, against the Grecians pouring in on all sides. Of the Persian Generals, two made their Escape, and two were killed. *Artayntes* and *Ithramites*, Commanders of the Naval Forces, fled; *Mardontes* and *Tigranes*, Generals of the Land-Army, died in the Field. At length, whilst the Persians were yet fighting, the Lacedemonians arrived with the other part of the Forces, and made an end of the Slaughter. On the part of the Grecians many were killed, especially of the Sicyonians, who lost their General *Perilaus*. The Samians, who were in the Camp of the Medes, and had been disarmed before the Action, when they saw the Event doubtful at the beginning of the Fight, did all they could to help the Grecians; and the rest of the Ionians seeing the Samians lead the way, abandoned the Enemy in like manner, and fell upon the Forces of the Barbarians. The Persians, to provide for their own Safety, had appointed the Milesians to keep the Passages, to the end that, if such a Misfortune should overtake them, as happened, they might save themselves upon the Mountains of *Mycale* by their Direction. For this reason, and lest they should foment any Alteration by staying in the Army, the Milesians were posted in those Stations: But acting quite contrary to their Orders, they brought back, by other ways, to the Enemy, many of those that fled out of the Battle, and at last shewed greater Fierceness than all others in the Slaughter of the Barbarians.

Thus

Thus *Ionia* revolted a second time from the Persians.

IN this Battel the Athenians fought with the greatest Valour among all the Grecians; and among the Athenians, *Hermolycus*, the Son of *Euthoinus*, a famous Athlete; who being afterwards killed at *Cyrnus*, during the War between the Athenians and the Carystians, was buried at *Gereftus*. After the Athenians, those that had most Applause were the Corinthians, the Trœzenians, and the Sicyonians.

THE Grecians, after they had killed great numbers of the Barbarians, both in the Field and in the Pursuit, set fire to the Ships, burnt the whole Camp, and brought out upon the shore all the Booty, among which were several Chests of Money. Having done this, they sailed to *Samos*; and arriving there, consulted together about transporting the Ionians to some part of *Greece*, which was in their power, and then leaving *Ionia* to the Barbarians, because they judged themselves unable to protect the Ionians at all times, and had no hope, unless they were protected, that they would have cause to be pleased with their Revolt from the Persians. The principal of the Peloponnesians proposed to expel those Nations of *Greece*, which had sided with the Medes, and to give their Territories and Cities of Commerce to the Ionians; but the Athenians were not of opinion, either that the Ionians should be removed, or that the Peloponnesians should intermeddle with the Affairs of their Colonies. In this Contestation the Peloponnesians readily yielded to the Athenians; and after they had obliged the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and o-

ther Islanders, who were then in their Army, to swear, that they would be their constant Confederates, and continue in their Alliance without revolting, they sailed for the *Hellespont*, in order to ruin the Bridges, which they imagined still to find entire.

IN the mean time the Barbarians, who fled out of the Field, and were forced to betake themselves to the Eminences of *Mycale*, made off towards *Sardis*, reduced to an inconsiderable number: But as they were upon their way, *Masistes*, the Son of *Darius*, having been present in the late unfortunate Action, gave many hard words to *Artayntes*; and, among other Reproaches, told him, That he had shewn less Courage than a Woman, in performing the part of a General so ill, and deserved the worst of Punishment, for bringing so great a Disaster upon the King's House. Now, because among the Persians, to tell a Man he has less Courage than a Woman, is accounted the most insupportable of all Affronts, *Artayntes*, having already borne many Reproaches, lost all Patience, and drew his Scymetar to kill *Masistes*: But *Xenagoras*, the Son of *Praxilaus*, a Halicarnasscan, standing behind him, prevented the Blow; and grasping *Artayntes* round the middle, lifted him up in his Arms, and threw him down flat upon the Ground. Upon which the Guards of *Masistes* immediately interposed. By this Action *Xenagoras* acquired the favour of *Masistes*, and of *Xerxes* himself, whose Brother he had saved, and was rewarded by the King with the Government of all *Cilicia*. Nothing more passed among the Barbarians in their way; but when they arrived at *Sardis*, they found

Xerxes

Xerxes there, having continued in that Place from the time he fled thither from *Athens*, after his ill Success in the Engagement by Sea.

DURING his Stay at *Sardis*, he fell in love with the Wife of *Masistes*, who was then in that City : but finding he could not prevail with her by Presents, he abstained from force, out of regard to his Brother ; and the same Consideration was also a Restraint to the Woman, because she well knew he would not offer any Violence to her Person. *Xerxes* seeing he had no other way left, resolved to marry a Daughter she had by *Masistes* to his Son *Darius*, thinking by that means to compass his Design with greater facility. Accordingly the Contract was made, and when the usual Ceremonies were performed, he departed for *Susa*, conducting the Bride home to *Darius*. But after his Arrival, he forgot his Passion for the Wife of *Masistes* ; and changing his Inclinations, made love to his Daughter *Artayne*, who was now the Wife of his own Son ; which Intrigue was afterwards discovered in the following manner : *Amestris*, the Wife of *Xerxes*, having woven a Mantle of various Colours, large and beautiful, made a Present of it to her Husband ; which he receiving, with great joy, put it on, and went to *Artayne* : where, after he had taken his Satisfaction, he bid her ask whatever she most desired for her Recompence ; adding, that he would deny her nothing. Upon this Invitation (for the misfortune of all his Family was inevitable) she said to *Xerxes*, Will you then give me whatever I shall ask ? He said he would, and affirmed his Promise by an Oath ; not at all imagining her Demand would termi-

nate in the thing she chose: But he had no sooner sworn, than she boldly demanded the Mantle. *Xerxes* being unwilling to comply, and endeavouring to get off by any Contrivance he could invent, lest *Amestris* should make a plain Discovery of an Intrigue she only suspected before, offered her immense Treasures, with Cities, and an Army to be solely at her Disposal, which is one of the greatest Presents that can be made in *Persia*. At last, finding she would not be persuaded, he gave her the Mantle; and she, with a womanish Vanity, put it on, and wore it. When *Amestris* was informed of the thing, and heard that *Artaynte* had the Garment, she was not angry with her; but believing her Mother to be the Author and Contriver of all, determined to destroy the Wife of *Masistes*. To that end she expected till *Xerxes* should make the Royal Feast, by the Persians called *Tycta*, and in the Language of *Greece*, *Telion*, which is celebrated once every year on the King's Birth-day, when he alone wears magnificent Ornaments on his Head, and makes Presents to the Persians. *Amestris* having waited to that day, asked *Xerxes* to give her the Wife of *Masistes* for a Present: And though the King detested the Indignity of giving the Wife of his Brother, and knew her to be innocent of the thing which was the Cause of this Petition; yet, in the end, overcome by continued Sollicitation, and constrained by the Custom of *Persia*, which forbids the Denial of any thing during the Royal Feast, he consented, with the utmost Reluctancy, to the Request of *Amestris*; and putting the Woman into her hands, told her, She might do as pleased her best

best. But immediately after, having sent for his Brother, he said to him, “ *Masistes*, you are my Brother, the Son of *Darius*, and, which is yet more, a Man of Honour. Be persuaded by me to cohabit no longer with the Wife you have, and I will give you my own Daughter to supply her Place. Dismiss then this Woman ; for my opinion is, that you ought to do so.” *Masistes*, astonished to hear these words, answered, “ SIR, What vain Discourse is this ? You bid me leave a Woman I love, and by whom I have three young Sons, besides Daughters, of which you have chosen one to be your Son’s Wife ; and then, you tell me, I shall marry your Daughter. But, SIR, though I set a due Value upon the Honour of being thought worthy of your Daughter, yet I shall do neither of these things ; and therefore let not your Desire to bring about this Matter, put you upon offering Violence to my Inclinations. Some other Person, not inferiour to me, will be found for your Daughter ; in the mean time permit me to keep my Wife.” When he had made this Answer, *Xerxes*, in a great Rage, reply’d, “ Know, *Masistes*, that your Affairs stand thus : you shall not marry my Daughter, nor cohabit for the time to come with your own Wife, to the end you may learn to accept what I give.” *Masistes* having heard these words, retired, and as he went out, said, “ SIR, You have not yet taken away my Life.” Whilst *Xerxes* was in Conference with his Brother, *Amestris* sent for his Guards, and exercised her Cruelty upon the Wife of *Masistes*. She cut off her Breasts, which

she

she threw to the Dogs, her Nose, Ears, Lips, and Tongue, and in that mangled Condition sent her home. *Masistes* had heard nothing of this, but suspecting some Injury was intended him, he returned to his House with all possible Diligence; where finding his Wife so barbarously mutilated, he consulted with his Sons, and accompanied by them, and others, departed for *Bactria*, designing to induce the Bactrians to revolt, and to revenge himself of the King in the severest manner: In which Design, as I conjecture, he must have succeeded, had he been able to arrive among the Bactrians and Saces; for he was Governour of *Bactria*, and much beloved by both those Nations. But *Xerxes* being informed of his Intentions, sent some Troops after him with expedition, who killed him and his Sons upon the way, and cut his Forces in picces. Thus died *Masistes*, and such Success had *Xerxes* in his Love.

THE Grecians sailing from *Mycale* towards the *Hellespont*, were obliged, by tempestuous Weather to put in about *Lepton*; and from thence arriving at *Abydus*, they perceived the Bridges were taken in pieces, which they thought to have found entire, and which were the principal Motive to their Enterprize. Upon this Emergency *Leutychides*, with the Peloponnesians, determined to return to *Greece*; but the Athenians, with their General *Xanthippus*, resolved to stay, and to make an Attempt upon *Chersonesus*. Accordingly, after the Peloponnesians were withdrawn, the Athenians set sail from *Abydus*, and landing in *Chersonesus*, besieg'd *Sestus*. To that Place, as to the strongest of those Parts, great Numbers came from the adjacent Country, when they heard that the

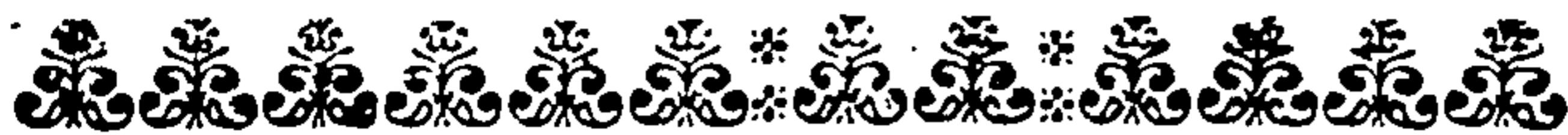
Grecians were arriv'd in the *Hellestant*; and, among others, *Oibazus*, a Persian from *Cardia*, who had already caused all the Materials of the Bridges to be brought thither. The Inhabitants were *Æolians*, but a great Multitude of Persians and their Confederates had drawn together, in order to defend the City. The Government of the whole Province was in the hands of *Artayctes*, a Persian of profligate and detestable Manners, who had been placed in that Station by *Xerxes*; and by imposing a Fraud upon him, when he marched to *Athens*, had rifled the Treasures of *Protesilaus*, the Son of *Iphicles*, which were at *Eleus*. For in the City of *Eleus* in *Chersonesus*, the Sepulchre of *Protesilaus* was erected in the midst of this Temple; and a great Sum of Money, with Gold and Silver Plate, Vessels of Brass, and other Offerings, were taken from thence by *Artayctes*, in virtue of a Grant from the King; which he obtain'd by this Artifice: “Sir, said he, here is the Habitation of a certain Grecian, who having enter'd your Territories with an Army, perish'd, as he well deserv'd. Give me the House of this Man, that for the future none may dare to invade any Part of your Dominions.” By this Representation he doubted not to obtain the House from *Xerxes*, because he could have no Suspicion of his Project; and told him *Protesilaus* had invaded the Royal Dominions, because the Persians imagine, that all *Asia* is the Property of their Kings. Thus after *Artayctes* had obtain'd his Request he brought away the Treasure to *Sestus*, converted the sacred Place into Pasture and Arable Land; and when he was at *Eleus*, lay with divers Women in the Sanctuary. This Man being now besieg'd, by

by the Athenians, was utterly unprepar'd to defend himself; having never thought of being attacked by the Grecians, who fell upon him unexpected. But while they were engag'd in this Enterprize, Autumn came on, and the Athenians growing uneasy to be so far from home, without any Appearance of taking the City, besought their Leaders to conduct them back to their own Country. This, the Generals said they would not do, till either they should take the Place, or be recalled by the People of *Athens*: So great was their Affection to the State. In the mean time, those who were with *Artayetes* in the City, being reduced to the last Extremity, boil'd and eat the Cords of their Beds; and when that Food likewise fail'd, *Artayetes* and *Oibazus*, with the rest of the Persians, made their escape from the Land-side of the Wall, in a Part where the Besiegers had not placed a sufficient Force. In the Morning, the Chersonesians from their Towers, having first given notice to the Athenians of what had pass'd, open'd their Gates; and some of the Athenian Forces enter'd the City, whilst the greater part went in pursuit of the Enemy. The Thracians of *Apsynthus* siezing upon *Oibazus* as he fled thro' *Thrace*, sacrificed him to *Plestorus*, a God of the Country, according to their Custom, and killed all his Companions in another manner. But *Artayetes* and his Company, being few in number, and beginning to shift for themselves later than the rest, were overtaken at the River of *Ægos*; where, after they had defended themselves a considerable time, some were killed upon the Place, and the rest, with *Artayetes* and his Son, were made Prisoners, and carried back to *Sestus*. The Chersonesians say, that one of his

his Guards saw a thing prodigious, as he stood broiling salted Fish ; the pieces which lay upon the Fire moving and leaping like Fishes newly taken out of the Water ; and that, when divers Persons crowded about the Place, and wondred at the Sight, *Artayctes* observing the Miracle, call'd the Man who broil'd the Fish, and said to him, “ Athenian Friend, be not afraid ; you are not at all concern'd in this Prodigy : *Protesilaus*, though dead and embalm'd at *Eleus*, admonishes me, by this Sign, that the Gods have given him power to revenge the Injury he has receiv'd : Resolving therefore to make him reparation, I will consecrate a hundred Talents to his Divinity, instead of the Riches I took out of his Temple ; and I will give two hundred Talents to the Athenians, if they will spare my Life, and the Life of my Son.” But their General *Xanthippus* would not be persuaded by these Promises ; partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the People of *Eleus*, to avenge the Injury done to *Protesilaus*, earnestly sollicited him, that *Artayctes* might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the Shore, where the Bridges of *Xerxes* terminated ; or, as others say, to an Eminence standing near the City of *Madytus*, they caus'd him to be impaled on a Stake, fixed in the Ground for that purpose ; and at the same time stoned his Son before his eyes. When the Athenians had done these things, they return'd with their Fleet to *Greece* ; carrying, besides other Riches, all the Materials of the Bridges, in order to be consecrated in their Temples : and nothing more was done that Year.

THIS

THIS *Artayētes*, thus executed by the Greeks, was descended by the Male Line from *Artembāres*; who in his time fram'd a Discourse for the Persians, which they approving, repeated to *Cyrus* in these Terms: " Since *Jupiter* has given the Superiority to the Persians, and the principal Authority among Men to thee, O *Cyrus*; give us leave to remove out of our Country, which is narrow and mountainous, into a better. Many such are near our Confines, and many at a greater distance. The Possession of one of these will render us more reverenc'd by most Men; and this Conduct becomes a People, who have the Power in their hands. In a word, what Opportunity can ever be more favourable to us, than the present, when we have the Command of so many Nations, and the Dominion of all *Asia*?" *Cyrus* heard these words without wonder, and bid them do as they desir'd; but withal, admonish'd them to prepare for the future to obey, and not to command, as in time past: Because Nature has so ordered things, that delicious Countries produce an effeminate Race, and Men excellent in War, are not bred in those Regions which yield the most admirable Fruits. The Persians perceiving their Error, receded from their Purpose, and yielded to the Opinion of *Cyrus*; chusing rather to live in a barren Country, and to command, than to cultivate the richest Plains, and be subject to other Men.



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